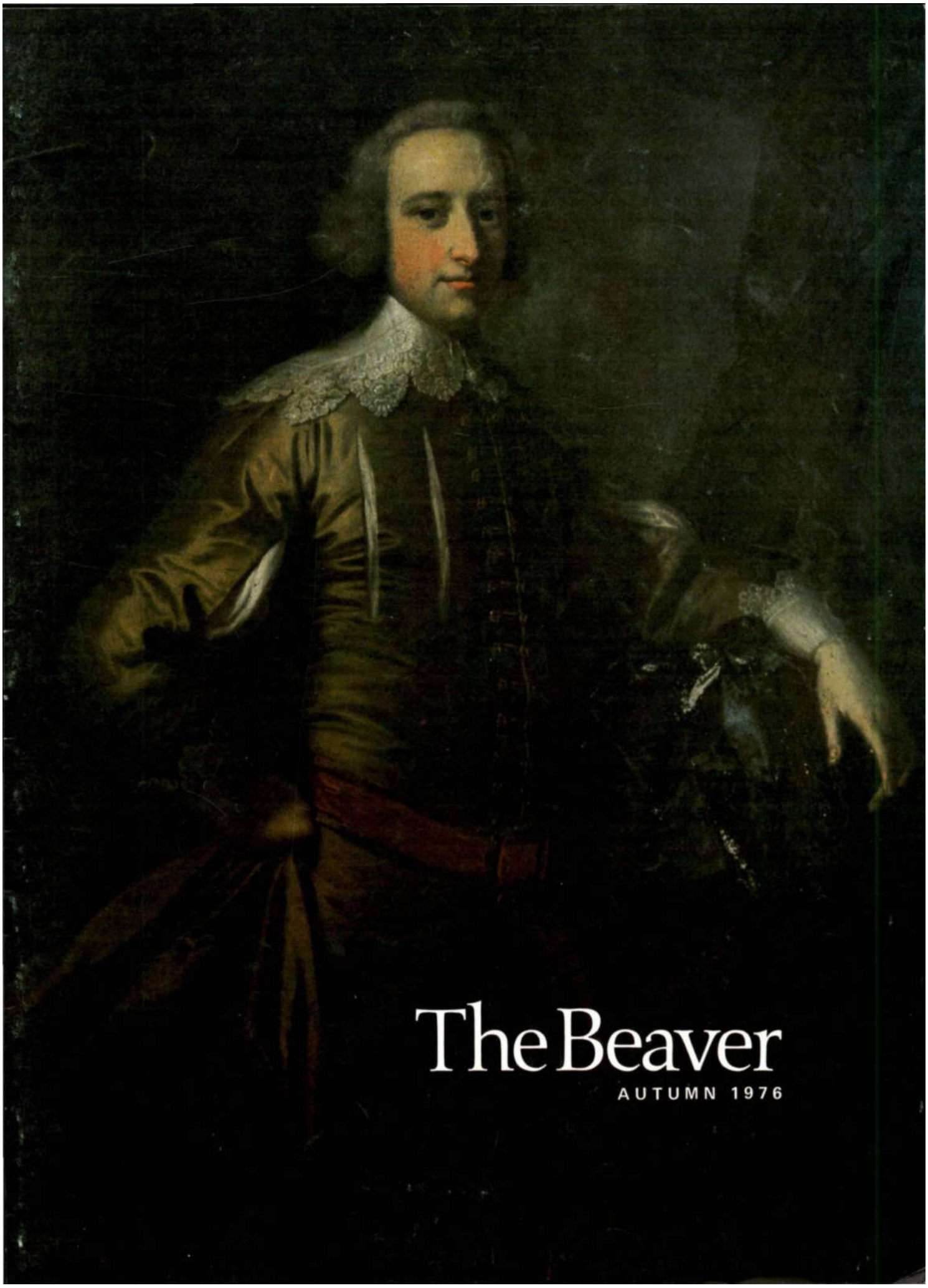

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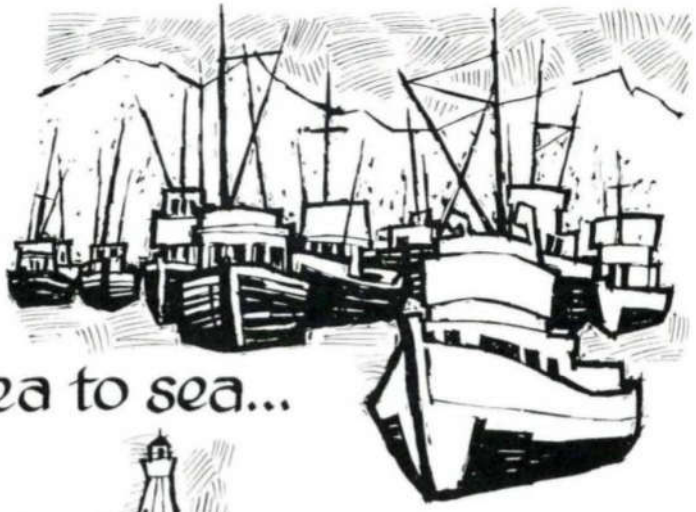
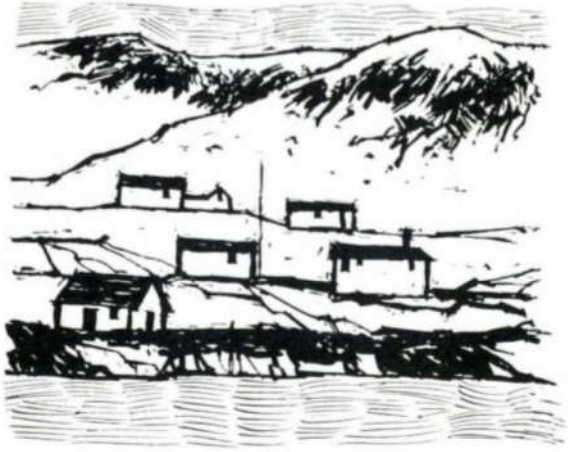


from sea to sea...

across the span

of three centuries



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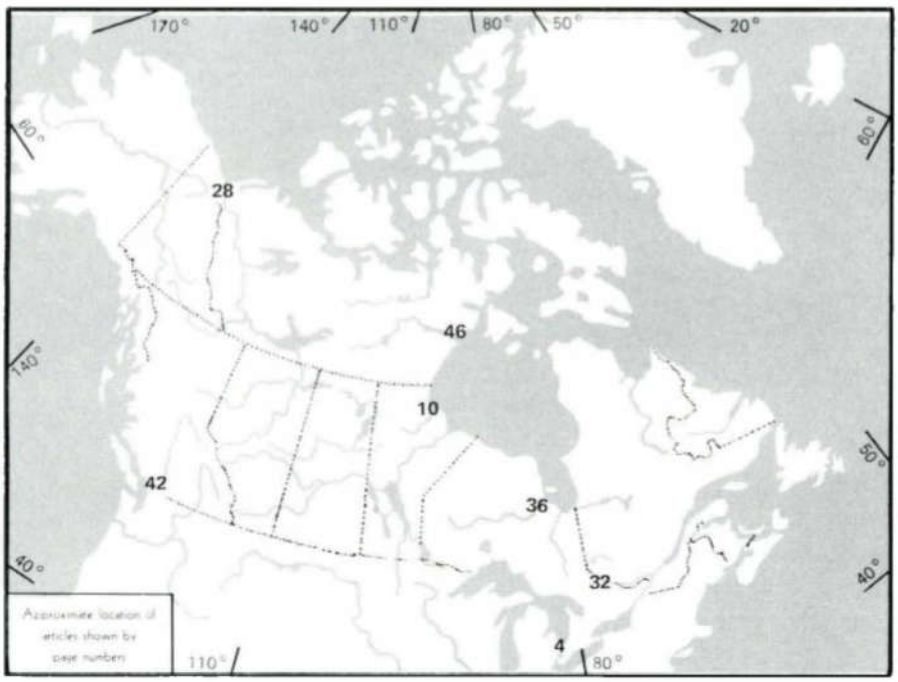

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COVER: Portrait of Samuel Wegg, probably painted at the time of his marriage at the age of 22. Published by kind permission of Colonel James G. Round of Colchester, Essex, England.

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MAUNGWUDAUS GOES ABROAD

By Donald B. Smith

GILCREASE INSTITUTE, TULSA, OKLAHOMA

The wife of Maungwudaus with the son who was born in the Salle Valentino in Paris. From a water-colour by George Catlin who met the group in Paris.

Donald Smith is Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Calgary.

MAUNGWUDAUS WAS NOT THE FIRST or by any means the most illustrious Indian to travel abroad. Well before his visit to Great Britain and Europe in the mid-1840s hundreds of North American Indians had preceded him – from the famous Pocahontas to the distinguished Iroquois, Joseph Brant. But few of the scores to make the journey could write. Maungwudaus could and, fortunately for us, he carefully recorded his impressions in a short pamphlet, *An Account of the Chippewa Indians, who have been Travelling among the Whites, in the United States, England, Ireland, Scotland, France and Belgium*, published in Boston in 1848.

The name of Maungwudaus, or 'George Henry' as he was baptized, first appeared in the early-nineteenth-century records of the Methodist Episcopal Church (later to become the Wesleyan Methodist, and in this century the United Church of Canada). Born and raised around 1810 in an Ojibwa village (the Americans call the same tribe 'Chippewa'), Maungwudaus avidly sought out the white man's knowledge. In the late 1820s he attended the Methodist mission school at the Credit Mission, thirteen miles west of Toronto, or York as it was then called.

At school the white missionaries quickly noted the abilities of the young native convert, and singled him out for advancement in the church. As early as 1830 William Case, the white superintendent of the Methodists' Indian missions in Upper Canada, commented that George Henry was 'an intelligent and promising man'. An invitation was issued asking him to join in carrying the gospel to distant Ojibwa bands, and George eagerly accepted. By 1836 he had served in several distant mission fields. He had travelled to Rice Lake in the northeast, to Sault Ste Marie in the northwest, to Munceytown over a hundred miles to the west, and finally to the St Clair River, where Sarnia now stands.

From his post at St Clair, George Henry regularly sent in letters to the *Christian Guardian*, the Methodists' newspaper. His letters reveal how much he had both accepted and adopted the standards of the dominant European society. On 10 March 1837 he comments on the 'transformation' that Christianity had wrought in the way of life of the native people.

The letter begins: 'Yes, Mr. Paper-maker, if you had seen these Indians a few years ago, you would think they were the animals you called Ourang Outangs, for they appeared more like them than human beings; but since the Great Spirit has blessed them they have good

clothes; plates and dishes; window and bed curtains; knives and forks; chairs and tables; and one of the chiefs has saved plenty of duck and partridge feathers, and has got a good feather bed, – but what is better than all these things they have the religion of Jesus Christ in their hearts.' At this stage in his life – judging, at least from his letters to the *Christian Guardian* – George Henry had firmly endorsed the white man's ways.

The native convert moved up quickly in the church. At St Clair he helped the Reverend James Evans to write an Ojibwa hymn book. In June 1837 he was recommended to become an assistant missionary. Among his white fellow workers he enjoyed wide respect, and indeed one white missionary, the Reverend Benjamin Slight wrote of him: 'George Henry is a clever, respectable looking young man, a good speaker, said to be a good divine, a tolerable poet, and an excellent translator.' His place in the church seemed assured, but it was not. In 1840 he left the ministry.

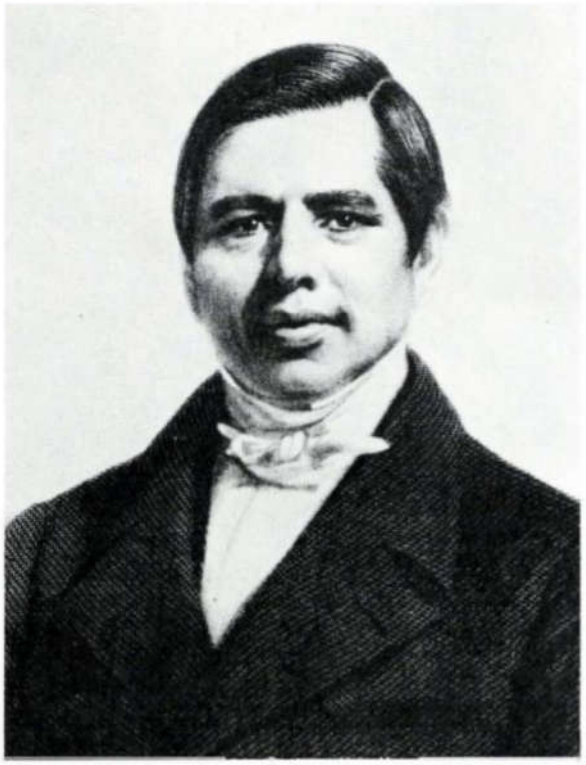
For nearly a decade and a half he had been involved with the Methodist Church's Indian mission work. Why he decided to leave so abruptly is unknown. So little information on his withdrawal has survived that no one can say with any certainty why he departed. His enemies later charged that he was expelled from the church for adultery. In his defence his friends argued that he had left voluntarily, protesting against 'the noise in the prayer meetings' which he 'did not think was right'.

We next find him employed as the government interpreter at St Clair, a post he occupied for the next three years. With his earnings as the government interpreter he was able to support his wife, her parents, and his own family of five boys. But the government job ended in 1843, and he had to secure fresh employment. Again his enterprising spirit came to the fore. Together with George McKee, an English-born farmer in the area, he set out to organize a 'wild Indian' troupe to cross over and tour Britain.

Only recently an Indian group had come back to the St Clair area from Europe. They complained of their treatment, pointing out 'the little remuneration – their excessive fatigue resulting from their frequent dancings and so forth'. But George Henry, or Maungwudaus, was undaunted. After conscripting his own family and convincing a few Ojibwa from neighbouring Walpole Island to join him, Maungwudaus, leaving his Christian name 'George Henry' behind him, led his hastily-organized troupe off to Europe.

GILCREASE INSTITUTE, TULSA, OKLAHOMA

This splendid figure was probably Maungwudaus, for he was the only adult male of the Mississauga tribe in the troupe. From a water-colour by Catlin.



The Reverend Peter Jones (Sacred Waving Feathers) who was 'mortified' when he heard of his cousin's plan to tour Europe.

Kahkewaquonaby ('Sacred Waving Feathers') or the Reverend Peter Jones as he was known in English, received the news of the Maungwudaus tour badly. The leading native Methodist leader, who had devoted twenty years of his life working for the conversion of his people to Christianity, was frankly appalled. As he wrote to a friend on 5 September 1844: 'In my opinion such exhibitions before the British people by men who have professed Christianity and civilization are well calculated to injure and impede the benevolent intentions of our good Government and the Missionary societies for the amelioration of the Indian tribes.' Then he added: 'I am much mortified where anything is done calculated to lower the Indian character in the estimation of the religious public.' To add insult to injury, Maungwudaus was his own 'second cousin'.

No one, though, could deter Maungwudaus (or the 'Great Hero' as he translated his name in English in the circular announcing the troupe). They left in November 1844 and performed on the way, first in Detroit, then in Cleveland, Buffalo, Utica, Albany, and New York. In March 1845 the party sailed on the ship *Victoria* for Portsmouth, landing there after a rather rough passage. In the course of the journey, Maungwudaus later wrote in his reminiscences, 'our middle mast got blown away' and 'the waves were like mountains'. Apparently the group travelled steerage; the native chronicler noted that at night the rats 'helped the waves in tormenting us, by biting us on our toes and noses.'

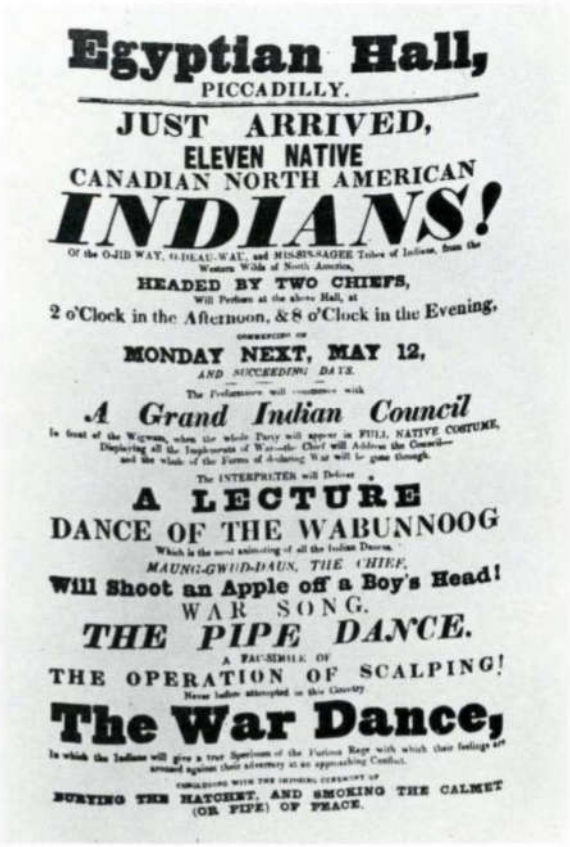
At Portsmouth the Indians stopped long enough to see 'Lord Nelson's war-ship', then travelled on to London, at that time the largest and richest city in the world. In the city of two million the visitors performed every day in the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly. Recently a British linen manufacturer reproduced their handbill as a kitchen wall-hanging. Maungwudaus's William Tell-type exploit received prominent billing on the poster. During the performance he would shoot an apple off a boy's head. And for the first time in Britain, the poster proudly exclaimed, the Indians would enact 'a fac-simile of the Operation of Scalping! Never before attempted in this country.' The English attended in droves.

Why the tremendous excitement over North American Indians? Peter Jones, who had himself made two highly successful tours of Britain in the 1830s to raise money for the Canadian Methodist missions accounted for Maungwudaus's reception in this way. 'No nation' he wrote on 30 December 1831, 'can be more fond of novelties than the English; they will gaze upon a foreigner as if he had just dropped down from the moon; and I have often been amused in seeing what a large number of people a monkey riding upon a dog will collect, where such things may be seen almost every day. When my Indian name, Kahkewaquonaby, is announced to attend any public meeting, so great is the curiosity, the place is sure to be filled.'

At first London puzzled Maungwudaus and his followers. He wrote in his reminiscences of the journey, 'like musketoes in America in the summer season, so are the people in this city, in their numbers, and biting one another to get a living.' Some buildings impressed him, though, like St Paul's Cathedral and the Houses of Parliament. At 'the Council House' the Indians heard the famous English politicians, Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel 'talk in the council'. The great Irish leader, Daniel O'Connell, asked them to dine with him. The greatest public figure in the nation, the Duke of Wellington, invited the troupe to his home. There 'the great war-chief with the big nose' and his son 'gave us handsome presents'.

Many English officers invited the Indians to visit their barracks. As a rule Maungwudaus found them 'fine, noble, and dignified looking fellows'. Their accents puzzled him, however, and in his opinion 'the voice of them when coming out of the mouth, sounds like the voice of a bull-frog.' Their mannerisms occasionally annoyed him. In his pamphlet the Indian chronicler noted that there were 'too many unnecessary ceremonies while eating, such as, allow me Sir, or Mrs. to put this into your plate. If you please Sir, thank you, you are very kind Sir, or Mrs. can I have the pleasure of helping you?' Of the Englishmen in general, he colourfully observed that many 'have very big stomachs, caused by drinking too much ale and porter. Those who drink wine and brandy, their noses look like ripe strawberries.'

A poster announcing the appearance of Maungwudaus and his troupe.


Egyptian Hall,
PICCADILLY.
JUST ARRIVED,
ELEVEN NATIVE
CANADIAN NORTH AMERICAN
INDIANS!
Of the O-JIB WAY, O-JIBAU-WAU, and MISSISSAGEE Tribes of Indians, from the Western Wilds of North America,
HEADED BY TWO CHIEFS,
Will Perform at the above Hall, at
2 o'Clock in the Afternoon, & 8 o'Clock in the Evening,
MONDAY NEXT, MAY 12,
AND SUCCEEDING DAYS.
The Performances will commence with
A Grand Indian Council
In front of the Wigwam, when the whole Party will appear in FULL NATIVE COSTUME, Displaying all the Implements of War—the Chief will Address the Council—and the whole of the Forms of declaring War will be gone through.
The INTERPRETER will Deliver
A LECTURE
DANCE OF THE WABUNNOOG
Which is the most interesting of all the Indian Dances,
MAUNG-GWUD-DAUS, THE CHIEF,
Will Shoot an Apple off a Boy's Head!
WAR SONG.
THE PIPE DANCE.
A FACSIMILE OF
THE OPERATION OF SCALPING!
Never before attempted in this Country.
The War Dance,
In which the Indians will give a true Specimen of the Furious Rage with which their feelings are aroused against their adversary at an approaching Conflict.
CONCLUDING WITH THE INTERESTING CEREMONY OF
BURYING THE HATCHET, AND SMOKING THE CALMET (OR PIPE) OF PEACE.

Maungwudaus found the English women attractive to look at, and commented 'their waists, hands are very small; their necks are rather longer than those of our women.' Apart from their appearance, he found them to be quite useless in contrast with Indian women. He recorded in his pamphlet: 'The English women cannot walk alone; they must always be assisted by the men. They make their husbands carry their babies for them when walking.'

An incident involving the wives of some army officers was only averted by Maungwudaus's presence of mind. On leaving one of the barracks an officer asked the Indians to shake hands with the English ladies before they departed. The Indians did so. Then the ladies began conversing among themselves, and an officer reported that the ladies wanted to be kissed. The Indians then kissed them on both cheeks according to their custom. At this point another officer intervened: 'Gentlemen, our pretty squaws are not yet satisfied; they want to be kissed on their mouths.' The Indians then obliged and kissed the women on their mouths. By this time the patience of Say-say-gon, the War Chief in the party was gone. After doing his duty Say-say-gon then politely told the smiling ladies in Ojibwa: 'That is all you are good for; as for wives, you are good for nothing.' Realiz-

A daguerreotype taken in 1851, five years after the troupe's return from England, shows Maungwadaus with his sons and a woman who may be his new wife or the wife of one of his older sons.

King Louis Philippe of France and his Queen and the Belgian Royal Family are introduced to Maungwudaus and his troupe in the park at St Cloud Palace just outside Paris.

'The war-dance, the war-song, the war-whoop, etc' were explained to the Royal Families by George Catlin who sketched the event.

ing that discretion is the better part of valour Maungwudaus, when asked to translate the warrior's remarks, simply told the ladies that Say-say-gon 'was wishing the officers would invite him very often, that he might again kiss the handsome ladies'!

There can be no doubt that Maungwudaus was what would be called today 'a slick operator'. No sooner had he arrived in London than he cast off his white partner, George McKee, who in a letter of complaint to the British Colonial Secretary, dated 21 July 1845, claimed that 'after clothing and feeding the party (11 in number) for some months and getting safe landed here at my sole expense, they have, without notice, fault or cause of any kind, "cut me adrift".' Maungwudaus now was the sole leader of the group.

After some months on their own, Maungwudaus and the troupe came under the management of a young Londoner, who took them to Paris. There they met George Catlin, the famous American painter of the Indian. Catlin had already managed two Indian tours in Europe and he immediately took the Ojibwa under his wing. Fortunately for us he later included his recollections of Maungwudaus and his party in his book, *Catlin's Notes of Eight Years of Travels and Residence in Europe with his North American Indian Collection* published in London in 1848. He was most impressed with Maungwudaus and wrote: 'The chief of this party, Maun-guadaus, was a remarkably fine man, both in his personal appearance and intellectual faculties.' Catlin added that the native leader 'acted as chief and interpreter of the party' and that he 'spoke and wrote the English language very correctly.'

In Paris the Ojibwa scored a triumph. At their exhibitions Catlin wrote they 'seemed to please and surprise all who came, by the excitement of their dances and their skill in shooting with the bow and arrows.' While they were in Paris Maungwudaus's wife, Uh-wus-sig-geezigh-gook-kway ('Woman of the Upper World'), gave birth to a son in the Salle Valentino, the very hall in which they were performing. The party now swelled to twelve.

The highlight of their five-month tour with Catlin came in the final month – King Louis Philippe invited them to perform at St Cloud Palace just outside Paris. In the park 4,000 people had gathered including the King and Queen of France and their guests the King and Queen of Belgium.

After the exhibition Maungwudaus wrote in great excitement to Peter Jones. In order to justify the trip to his sceptical cousin he included every possible detail of their honour at St Cloud. 'Last Saturday we saw the great chief of France, and his great chief woman; the great chief of Belgium, and his great chief woman; and some hundreds of their people . . . These things we did for them: – We played the Indian ball-play, shot at marks with our own bows and arrows, false scalping, war dance, paddled one of our birch-bark canoes in a beautifully made river, among swans, wild geese, and ducks.' Then came what in Maungwudaus's opinion was the greatest honour. 'After the two great chiefs and their great chief women had much talk with us, they thanked us, got into their carriages covered with gold, drawn by six beautiful horses, and drove to the wigwam of the great chief of France. We followed them, and the great chief's servant, who wears a red coat, and much gold and silver, and a hat in the shape of half-night-sun, took us into one of the great rooms to dine.'

Maungwudaus enjoyed France and found the French women attractive and 'very gay in their dresses'. The men's appearance, though, he thought rather curious. 'Many of the gentlemen never shave their faces; this makes them look as if they had no mouths. Others wear beards only on the upper part of their mouths, which makes them look as if they had black squirrel's tails sticking on each side of their mouths.'

From Paris the troupe went to Brussels and there tragedy struck. Two of the men died of smallpox, as did a third warrior, their War Chief Say-say-gon, after they had left Catlin and arrived back in London. The Quakers vaccinated the rest; Maungwudaus and the other eight in the party were saved.

Short of the necessary funds to return home, the survivors spent the next year touring Britain, performing throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland. Maungwudaus had the misfortune of seeing two of his children buried in Glasgow and another in Edinburgh; later his wife died in Newark, England. The price of the tour had been incredibly high. By 1848 when they set sail for New York, only five of the original twelve were still alive. All the Indians survived the six-week voyage, although sixteen of the German immigrants on the vessel died on the way. They landed on June 4th and in Maungwudaus's words 'we were very thankful to the Great Spirit for bringing us back again to America.'

Once back in North America Maungwudaus faded from the documentary record. Only one concrete reference to him has been found after 1848. The Oakville *Star* in 1889 referred to 'Saigitoo, the medicine man from the Mississaugas of New Credit . . . son of well known Indian doctor Maungwudaus'. We know, as well, that another son, Awunnewabe, or John Tecumseh Henry, lived to his seventies, and was, at least in 1903, a Chief of the Ojibwa at Munceytown. But of his father we know nothing more. One wonders how much longer this extraordinary man lived on after the tour, and and in what circumstances he died.

Since 1492, volume upon volume has been written on North America by Europeans. Almost too many one might say. In contrast almost nothing survives of the original Americans' impressions of Europe. It would be fascinating to know more of what they learned. We are grateful to Maungwudaus for his record. From it we can extract the impressions of one remarkable North American Indian of what, to him, was the 'New World'.◆

Governor Samuel Wegg

'THE WINDS OF CHANGE'

by Richard I. Ruggles

Professor Ruggles is with the Department of Geography, Queen's University, Kingston.

Samuel Wegg was a fledgling lawyer of 25 when he inherited half of his father's Hudson's Bay Company stock. Twelve years later he began an active business career of close to 40 years with the Company, retiring as Governor in 1799.

DURING THE SECOND HALF of the eighteenth century the Hudson's Bay Company underwent a considerable transformation of its approach to the operation of trade in its Charter territory and in its policy of extreme secrecy and hoarding of its data on the geography of this vast region. Two things seem evident in this alteration. The Company placed greater emphasis on exploration and mapping during the process of expanding trade posts and trade contacts, including hiring some servants who had training in surveying techniques, and giving such training to others. And secondly, its map files and exploratory journals were opened to certain geographers, cartographers and other members of the scientific community, and co-operation was forthcoming in several scientific ventures.

Although this change was by no means sudden, its effects were far-reaching. Analysis of this process of change and the revelation as to the chief proponent of such a major reversal of policy were provided by Glyndwr Williams in his paper *The Hudson's Bay Company and its Critics in the Eighteenth Century* published in 1970, in *Transactions of The Royal Historical Society*. His conclusion was that Samuel Wegg not only personified this changing attitude but was likely a major architect of the new policies.

The achievement of Samuel Wegg was that he helped the Company of his day to distinguish between information which because of its commercial importance was properly confidential, and that which was not. Under his guidance the Company built up goodwill instead of needless antagonism; it showed itself to be in the ranks of those seeking to increase both trade and knowledge.

This conclusion raises several intriguing questions about Samuel Wegg about whom relatively little is known, or has been divulged. The main query concerns the background, training and the associations which influenced a seemingly conservative businessman of these times and circumstances to support the alteration of such long-established and restrictive procedures.

Samuel Wegg was essentially the product of his class and times: a university graduate, a barrister, and a respected member of the City's commercial hierarchy. Like others of his class he maintained a country estate as well as a home in the centre of London. He had his club membership, was a regular adherent, supporter and active lay worker of the established church, and apparently had a happy and close family life. This general description would likely pertain in a large degree to most of the Committee members and stockholders of the

In this area of 18th-century London, the Company transacted its business for nearly a hundred years. Its 'handsome Brick Building off north Fenchurch Street' was a hundred feet west of the Ironmonger's Hall, shown above.

Hudson's Bay Company, and does not provide any real understanding of Governor Wegg's particular attributes of mind. However, his membership in three other organizations does furnish us with clues to his more liberal outlook, and suggests a milieu which must have had a broadening influence upon his attitude to his business interests. These were the Royal Society of London for Promoting Natural Knowledge, the Royal Society Club (the Royal Philosophers or the Thursday Club), and the Society of Antiquaries. All three associations provided Wegg with both an educational and a social nexus. Lectures, discussions, displays, business meetings, dinner and after-dinner conversations facilitated a widening of local horizons and a strengthening of social contacts. Here he met many of the leading scientists, naturalists, explorers, travellers, and cultural leaders of the age. Examination of his upbringing, and of his career in business and in these societies, reinforces the impression of a respected, well-to-do businessman and lawyer – a stable, cautious man who was willing, however, to meld certain new concepts and approaches with established procedure for the promotion of his Company's interests. His own relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company's fortunes extended from 1748 to 1799 as a stockholder first, and then from 1760, a member of the Committee, Deputy-Governor, and finally Governor for some seventeen years.

Samuel Wegg was the second surviving son of George Wegg of Colchester, Essex, a merchant tailor. Samuel was born there on 17 November 1723. His father, George, was thrice married and sired eleven children in all, only two of whom survived long into maturity: an older son, George Junior, issue of the first marriage; and Samuel, the youngest of all the children and issue of the third marriage of George to Anna Maria Cowper, daughter of John Cowper of Cornhill, London, a draper. When Samuel was born in 1723, it would appear that only his older half-brother George, then 18 years of age, was alive of all the other children. A close relationship was maintained between the two boys until 1777 when the older brother died.

Samuel was brought up in Colchester in a house called Berryfield which lay in St James Parish just east of St James Church, at East Hill on the High Road leading east from the city. He went to schools in Colchester and Bury St Edmunds, before being admitted to St John's, Cambridge, at the age of 16, on 2 July 1740. His older brother George was a barrister, Freeman of the City, alderman, and in 1740, the mayor of Colchester, the same year that Samuel went up to Cambridge.

Samuel Wegg's training was in the law, and this was his main profession until the duties of his position with the Company took precedence at a much later period of his life. In 1741, at the age of eighteen, his major break with his Essex youth occurred when he was admitted at Gray's Inn, and henceforth the London area became the scene of his considerable career. He was admitted to the Bar as barrister in 1746, and a Bencher of Gray's Inn in

R. I. RUGGLES

The Elms, the long-time home of Governor Wegg still stands on High Street in Acton. It is now used as a school.

1751. That same year he was appointed Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas. He was married quite young to Elizabeth, the elder daughter of Benjamin and Elizabeth Lehook of London and Acton, Middlesex, on 9 May 1745, at Lambeth Church. It was a long and apparently successful marriage of 54 years before his wife died in 1799. During the greater part of their marriage the couple maintained a home in London, for the most part in Bloomsbury Square, but their real home lay out in the lovely suburban village of Acton northwest of the city, in which the couple had family affiliations. They had three children: George Samuel born in 1749, Elizabeth in 1752, and Sarah in 1753, all of whom lived to a good age.

Between the family and public life of the western suburbs, sojourns in their Bloomsbury residence in town, and visits to their relatives' homes in Colchester and area, Samuel Wegg's family life was rich and full. His older brother George in Colchester, had by about 1750 razed Berryfield and several adjacent buildings and had built a large home, East Hill House, set in spacious grounds. Although twice married, there were no children of these marriages, and his younger brother's three children were particularly close to him and benefited from his estate at his death. It is interesting to conjecture that Samuel Wegg may have been influenced in his own actions by certain attitudes of his brother towards the young poor of the community. Through his career George Wegg was concerned in the preparation of poorer children for work in their later lives. He tried to establish a Protestant Working Charity School in St James Parish, Colchester, but was not successful. He was also a member of the Committee of the Marine Society, founded by Jonas Hanway in 1756, to send boys to sea as servants on His Majesty's ships at sea. On his part Samuel, later, as Deputy-Governor and Governor of the H B C, approved the hiring of young apprentices from London Charity Schools, sending them to the Bay or to Company ships as neophyte servants in the business.

The Wegg family's association with the Hudson's Bay Company began as early as 1697 when Samuel's father, George, became a stockholder. Samuel himself inherited his first stock in the Company at the age of 25, as a fledgling lawyer, on the death of his father in 1748, when that gentleman's holdings were equally divided between his two sons. Twelve years later Samuel purchased his brother's share of the stock, was elected a Committee member of the Company, and at the age of 37 began his long and increasingly involved career in business. This career extended for just under 40 years, until 1799, when he retired as Governor of the Bay, transferring his stock to his son, George Samuel, who was himself then elected to the Committee. Three years later, on 19 December 1802, the old Governor died at his home in Acton.

During this same period of evolving participation with the Company of Adventurers of England, Wegg increased his involvement with three associations which have been previously suggested as being of critical importance to the development of his broader outlook. The Royal Society was, along with its associated Thursday Club, of greatest significance in this regard. Many Fellows of the Society were also Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. The Royal Society, commencing in 1662 under Charter from Charles II, had been founded as a centre for the discussion and promotion of science.

Samuel Wegg was typical of the type of intelligent laymen who were, from the beginning, elected to Fellowship in the Royal Society. In his case, he was elected on 31 May 1753 as F.R.S., a considerable achievement at the age of thirty years. The election certificate, supported by six Fellows stated:

> Samuel Wegg, Esq. one of the Prothonotaryes of His Majesties Court of Common pleas, a gentleman well versed in all branches of Natural History, and Polite Literature, being desirous of being a member of this Society, is recommended by us on our personal knowledge, as every way deserving that Honour.

The Society gained considerably over the next half century from his membership and his devotion to the Society. For 37 years he was a member of the Council, and for 34 of these, elected Treasurer of the Society. He was the point of contact and negotiator between the interests of the Society and the Hudson's Bay Company, from which both groups gained considerably.

The first co-operative relationship between the Society and the H B C concerned the Society's scientific program for the Observation of the Transit of Venus in 1769. In 1767 a committee had been established to prepare for this great event, and it had been agreed that

Samuel Wegg was a frequent visitor at East Hill House in Colchester, the home of his brother George. The close relationship of the brothers may have influenced Governor Wegg in his hiring of young apprentices from London Charity Schools.

R. I. RUGGLES

one of the most suitable areas for the observations in the northern hemisphere was that of the west coast of Hudson Bay, in the Company's charter territory. It was agreed to apply to the Company:

> . . . for their leave, and that they would give the Observers a passage thither, and back in their Ships, and also afford them Assistance when there, in making their observations.

Samuel Wegg was asked, since he was a member of both Council and Committee, to present the request, to speak favourably on their behalf, and to negotiate the terms. He agreed and was able to bring the affirmative reply to the Council in January 1768. Further, in April he informed the Society of the financial and logistical details worked out by the Company for the program in the Bay. During this same period, Wegg would have met Captain James Cook; Joseph Banks, biologist; and Alexander Dalrymple, cartographer and geographer, among others who were being considered as participants in the expedition to make observations in the South Seas. Benjamin Franklin, for instance, was a member of the organization committee.

Wegg's horizons were constantly being enlarged through his Society activities. He was on the Council in 1768 when Mason and Dixon, the British mathematicians and surveyors, presented their results in a paper on determining the length of a degree of longitude upon a parallel between Maryland and Pennsylvania, which had been directed by a committee of the Society. In November 1769, William Wales and Joseph Dymond, the two transit observers at Hudson Bay presented two papers to meetings of the Society which Wegg attended, on *Astronomical Observations . . . at Prince of Wales's Fort on the Northwest Coast of Hudson's Bay*, and *Observations on the State of the Air, Winds, Weather etc. at Prince of Wales's Fort on Churchill River in Hudson's Bay.*

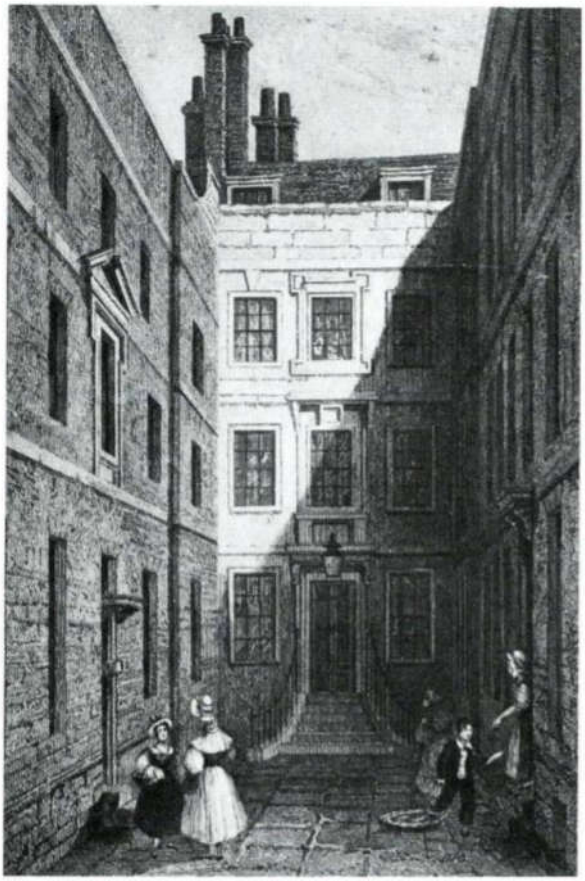
Good will between the Society and Company was augmented at this time through the presentation by Wegg to the Council of a letter from the Company.

> Wherein the Governors mention, that being desirous to encourage Science, and other National improvements, they decline being paid anything for freight of the Instruments thither, and shall be fully satisfied with the £250 stipulated for the accommodation of the Observers.

Wegg was thanked on this occasion by the Council for his assistance in this matter.

Through the first half of 1771, the Council received letters from Captain Cook from various locales in the South Pacific, and in November of that year Wegg attended the meeting at which this increasingly famous navigator read his paper on *Observations of the Variation of the Magnetic Needle.* During that same meeting a letter was read from the Hudson's Bay Company, and its contents were noted and augmented in the Council minutes as follows:

> . . . the Com^ee^ . . . do present the Council of the Society with eight boxes of stuffed and dried skins of Quadrupeds, Birds etc; and also a collection of stones and Fossils; and there was delivered at the Table a manuscript in Folio entitled "Descriptive and Historical remarks on the several articles sent from Severn river in Hudson's Bay" by Mr. Andrew Graham; and some shorter lists. And it was moved . . . that the thanks of the President and Council be given . . . for this very valuable present, as well as for their readiness upon this and all other occasions to promote science in general, and particularly the knowledge of natural history; and their kind assurances of continuing their communications to the Society;



For 34 years Wegg was Treasurer of the Royal Society, whose quarters are shown above. His horizons were constantly enlarged by his contacts here, and this was reflected in his approach to Company affairs.

Wegg was placed on a committee to consider the best disposition of these objects in the Society's House and Museum. In the following spring the Company again received the appreciation of the Society for the Company's gift of a quantity of chemical spirits taken to the Bay, in which various collected animal specimens could be preserved for the advancement of natural science.

Wegg was apparently on the museum committee up until 1781 when, upon the Society's removal to its new quarters in Somerset House, their displays were transferred to the British Museum and formed an important addition to this burgeoning collection. A further example of the continuing relationship of the Company and Society occurred in 1774, when the Society arranged for the loan of a dipping needle which was to be sent out to the Bay in order that observations on the dip of the magnetic needle could be made by officers of the Company at some of the posts there.

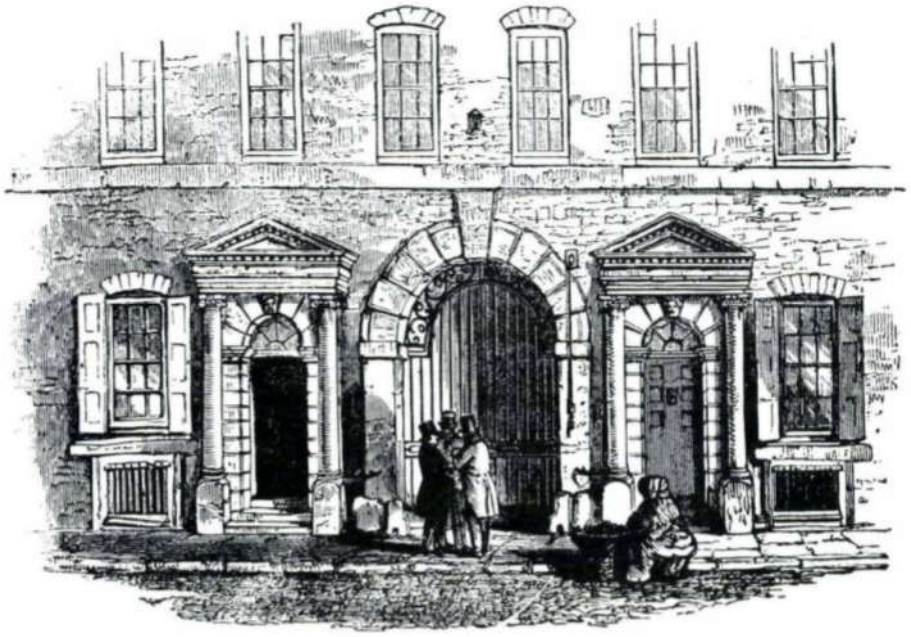
Governor Wegg's membership and executive position in the Royal Society brought him into contact with a varied panoply of the leading educated citizens of Britain, and with many distinguished visitors; but it would have been during the companionable hours at dinner and over port at the meetings of the Royal Society Club that conversation would have become more intense, pointed and germane to his interests as a businessman, especially one with an unusual franchise over a large share of a continent.

This was a dinner club, also called the Royal Philosophers or Thursday Club, denoting its time of occurrence in some fifty weeks of the year. Only forty Fellows could be members at any one time, losing their status if they failed to appear for at least one dinner in a year, though guests could be introduced. Honorary membership could be gained, however, if a gentleman complimented the Club with delicacies, such as a haunch of venison, a turtle, or pickled salmon. This convivial company met from 1743 to 1780 at the Mitre Tavern on Fleet Street, but moved after that date to the Crown and Anchor in the Strand.

Samuel Wegg was elected on 31 July 1760 and for 42 years took part in its gustatory operation. He was not, by any means, the most faithful member of the Thursday Club, taking part in only about five dinners per year on the average. His most active long-term period was from 1772 to 1784, which covered the years from just before he became Deputy-Governor to several years after he was elected as Governor of the Company.

The list of both members and visitors to the dinners when Wegg attended is lengthy and interesting. From the point of view of widening his geographic horizons, strengthening his knowledge of the geographical concepts and the strategic and economic policies of widely-travelled men, the Club was crucial in the 'education' of this Bay administrator. Guests of note during Wegg's period of membership included men such as Benjamin Franklin; Captain Cook; Daines Barrington, one of the great amateur instigators of northern exploration; Captains de Bougainville, Fernaut, Bentinck, Cartwright, King, Campbell, Bligh, and Broughton, all well-known explorers. For about thirty years, Joseph Banks, as President of the Royal Society was also President of the Thursday Club and acted weekly for these years as official host.

But perhaps more than most others it would have been Alexander Dalrymple who in his discussions and proselytizing undoubtedly was of considerable influence on the geographic and cartographic education of Wegg, and on the gradual emergence of the more cartographic, exploratory, and overt, policies of the Hudson's Bay Company during the latter half of this century. Dalrymple, the Cartographer of the East India Company, the first Hydrographer of the Admiralty, proponent of British colonization, trade, and imperial aggrandizement in the Pacific arena, geographer, explorer and polemicist, was also a Fellow and member of the Club. They attended evening dinners together nearly a dozen times from 1768 to 1775, and on these occasions Banks, Barrington, and Franklin were also frequent companions. From 1779 until 1799 when Wegg retired from Governorship, he and Dalrymple were at dinner together on approximately 65 occasions; this was the crucial



In March 1795, when Wegg was Governor, the Company moved to these premises at Nos. 3 and 4 Fenchurch Street.

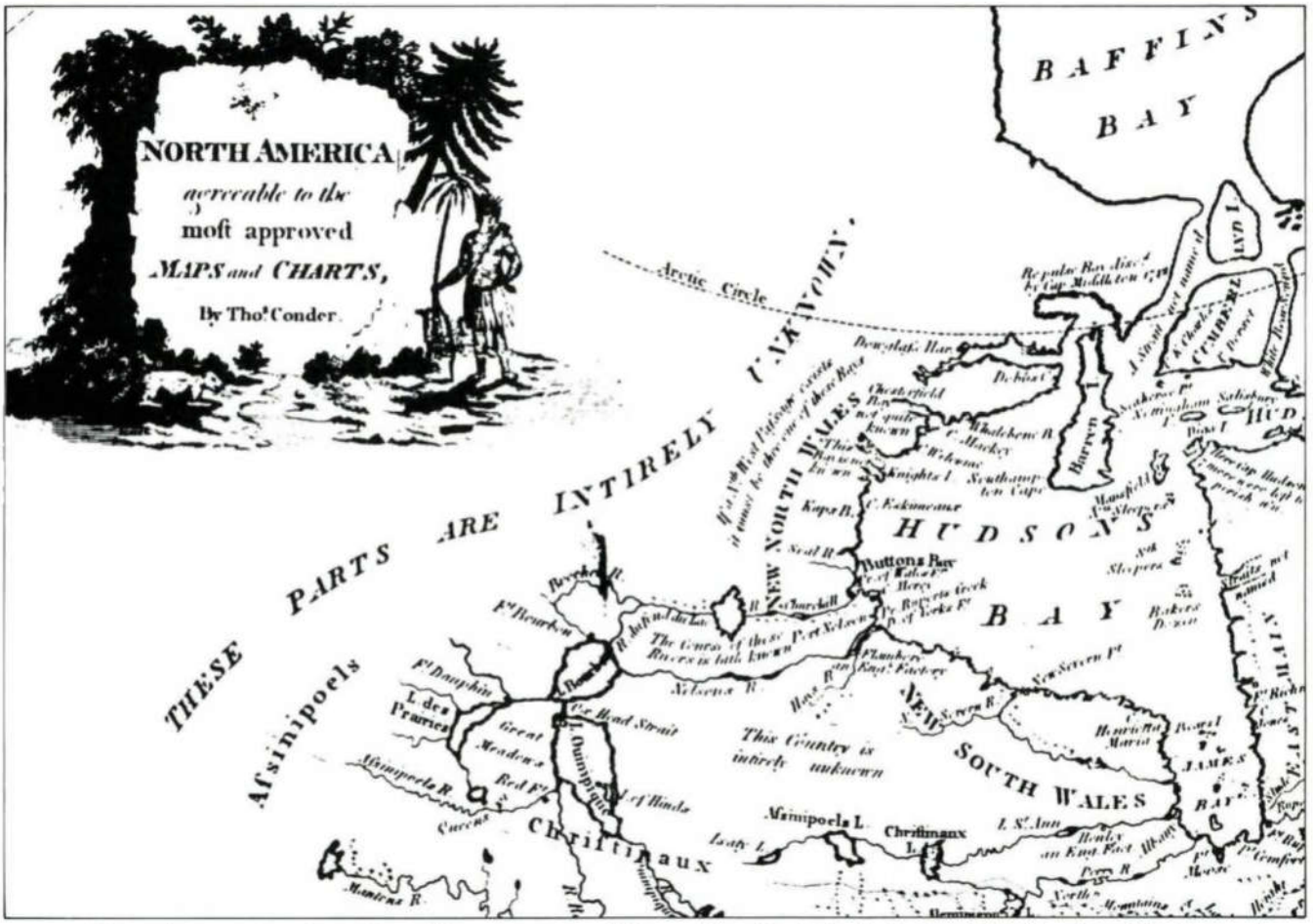
period of stewardship of Company affairs by Wegg as Deputy and then Governor.

The four decades of the career of Samuel Wegg as an executive member of the Hudson's Bay Company coincided fairly exactly with a period of significant changes in the Company's more traditional trading practices, with an increased awareness of the commercial value of an enhanced geographical knowledge of its trading area through exploration, survey, and mapping, and with a much greater acceptance of its public obligation to aid in the transmission of scientific information.

When Wegg was elected to the Committee of the Company in 1760 the policy of inland wintering had already been in operation for six seasons, during which time five servants, each on several occasions, had gained useful travel experience and had transmitted details of the western interior to the Company. However, from 1760 to 1774, at which date inland post building was inaugurated, the pace quickened as a dozen men, totalling some forty individual trips were sent off inland to attract trade to the Bay. However, none of these were trained field observers, surveyors or cartographers; some were illiterate, and only a few were interested or educated enough to prepare travel journals which were of both contemporary and lasting value. Hearne, Henday, Cocking, Pink, Tomison, Smith and Waggoner were the main ones of them all. Hearne's instructions from the Committee for his journey northwest from the fort at the Churchill River had the most specific geographical orientation. In addition to the trading requirements he was urged to ascertain aspects of the basic configuration of the hydrography of this large area including a solution to the major outstanding question of this era and region – whether there was a strait leading west from Hudson Bay to the Pacific Ocean. This latter task, also to be undertaken by sea along the West Main, had been urged by the Company upon the factors at York and Churchill, but it had not been until 1761 and 1762 that Capt. William Christopher and Moses Norton succeeded in investigating Chesterfield Inlet fully, and eradicating the possibility of this large coastal opening as a passage.

It had become increasingly obvious by 1774, when Samuel Wegg became Deputy-Governor, that there must be a momentous alteration in the historic trading strategy of the Company. Canadian 'Pedlars' were occupying many of the salient trading sites in the interior, and had, in fact, intruded to the Churchill River north of Cumberland Lake. There were no Company posts inland, and the wintering program had finally been choked off and proven to be inadequate for the task which then confronted the Company. In 1774 their policy was altered, and with the construction of Cumberland House, the Company began its real occupation of the West. They also became pedlars, carrying their goods into the midst of their customers.

Such an expanded trade system, which had reached the western mountain front in only a few years, required that precise locations be provided for its various posts, for major river and lake junctions, and that the waterway networks be delineated and laid down as clearly as possible on maps. The Company's approach was fourfold in nature. In the first place they hired Philip Turnor, a trained surveyor and map maker, to undertake an extensive mapping program and to train others for



The northwest portion of a map 'agreeable to most approved Maps and Charts', published in London, 1782. The effect of the Company's release of information is illustrated in an insert from Arrowsmith's 1814 map (page 19) which was based to a large extent on the Arrowsmith map of 1795.

such tasks. Turnor arrived at York in the spring of 1778, and for approximately 17 years, spent mostly in North America, surveyed the Company domain and its posts, prepared maps and plans, gave instruction in surveying methods, and also for some time acted as a regular employee in the trade.

Secondly, they increased their intake of young apprentices from Charity Schools in London. These boys were to have a certain amount of mathematical expertise and were expected to become particularly useful in time as inland travellers, surveyors and mappers, as they acquired training and experience. The apprenticeship system also provided that similar young boys be attached to various masters of Company ships. As previously noted, Wegg had some acquaintance with such a system through the interests of his brother George. The first such particular type of apprentice, George Donald, was bound in 1774, and he was followed by others such as John Hodgson, George Hudson, and David Thompson. The last one of this type of apprentice was John Charles, who arrived in the Bay in 1799. Most of the apprentices proved to be useful to the Company, although it was found that their initial training in England needed considerable further augmentation in the use of the simple instruments available. Several of the former apprentices became skilful in taking rough sketches, provided by their more untutored companions, and preparing fair copies to be sent to the Committee in London, or in compiling smaller-scale maps of larger areas from sketches and descriptions. Hodgson became especially adept at this. The number of sketches and maps grew at the Company's office in London in the form of individual sheets and as drawings inserted in post journals, in response to the enlarged geographical orbit of the servants in Rupert's Land.

Thirdly, the Company provided many of these servants with a considerable stock of surveying instruments and associated materials in order to take latitude and longitude fixes, to measure direction and distance, and to draw maps and plans. Although these had been supplied previously on occasion in the last three decades of the eighteenth century, their instrument inventory was greatly augmented with quadrants, accurate watches, telescopes, sextants, thermometers; with drawing instruments, nautical almanacs, and books on surveying, navigation and the like. In 1795, the Company had its coat of arms engraved on the outside case of the watch which Turnor had used for so many years in his surveying, and this was given to him '. . . as a Mark of the Committees Regard for him'.

And finally, special gratuities were given to various servants for their extra services to the Company and to encourage policies which they wished to promote. These included inland travel, inland service, particular exploratory journeys and the production of certain maps of the country. One of the largest payments, £200, was given to Samuel Hearne in 1773, for his epic journey. In 1777, John Thomas was allowed a gratuity of £10 to continue his explorations up the Moose River, and Philip Turnor was provided with several extra sums of money for his map work, including £100 in 1795 in consideration of his extensive exploration and surveys '. . . laid down . . . in a large and accurate map'.

It is apparent that the senior officers of the Company, and members of the Committee made extensive use of the sketches and maps of Rupert's Land in their policy deliberations, and, as well, digested the various descriptions of the physical and human geography of the region sent over in the post journals and as separate reports by Company servants. Nevertheless, up until almost the second to the last decade of the century, such a rich treasury of geographical and natural data was sacrosanct for their private commercial use. A glance at maps of the north of the continent prepared by the leading cartographers of Britain even into the 1780s will clearly verify the fact that this leading source of topographical information was not available to them, not even to the Geographer of His Majesty the King.

This secretive approach, however, was slowly being altered by the executive of the Company, at first through their general co-operation with certain activities of the major scientific institution of the nation, the Royal Society. Gradually they afforded access to their archival data to certain reputable explorers and natural scientists. Of special significance, however, were their decisions on three matters: to encourage certain employees to publish their own books, allowing refreshment of memory from the Company documents; to give Wegg's friend, Dalrymple, research opportunity in the archives; and of widest public value, to open up their map, sketch and journal resources to a leading British cartographer of the time, Aaron Arrowsmith, who compiled successive editions of his epochal map of northern North America. Samuel Wegg's influence on this transformation in relation to the Royal Society has been previously noted, but contemporary literature clearly corroborates the assertion of his wider support for a more open policy for his Company.

It is probable that Wegg was influential in the furtherance of the collection of animal and bird specimens of the Hudson Bay area, undertaken by Andrew Graham. Professor Richard Glover suggests that Wegg had introduced Graham, while on leave in London in 1769, to Charles Pennant the biologist. These three had likely arranged to have the collecting program initiated, with a view to its eventual lodging at the Royal Society's

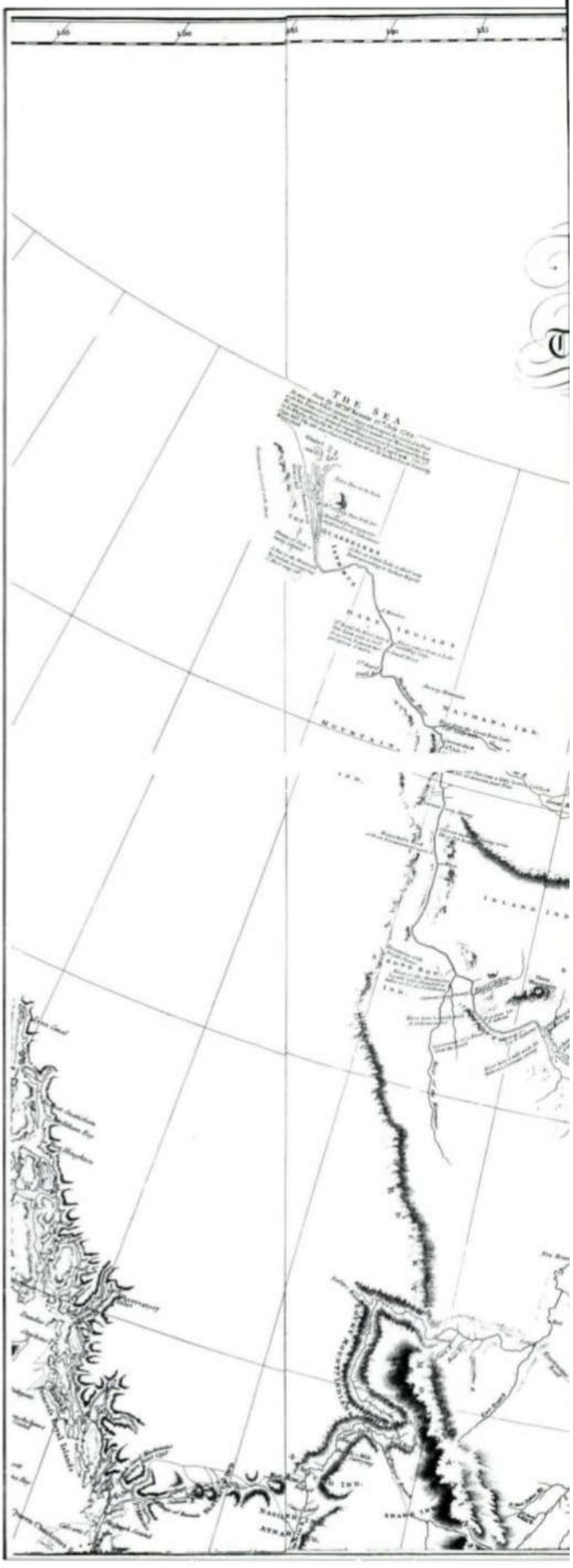
Philip Turnor, a trained surveyor and map maker, was engaged by the Company to undertake an extensive mapping program, and to train others. He arrived at York in 1778 and spent 17 years surveying the Company lands and its posts. With him is his assistant Peter Fidler.

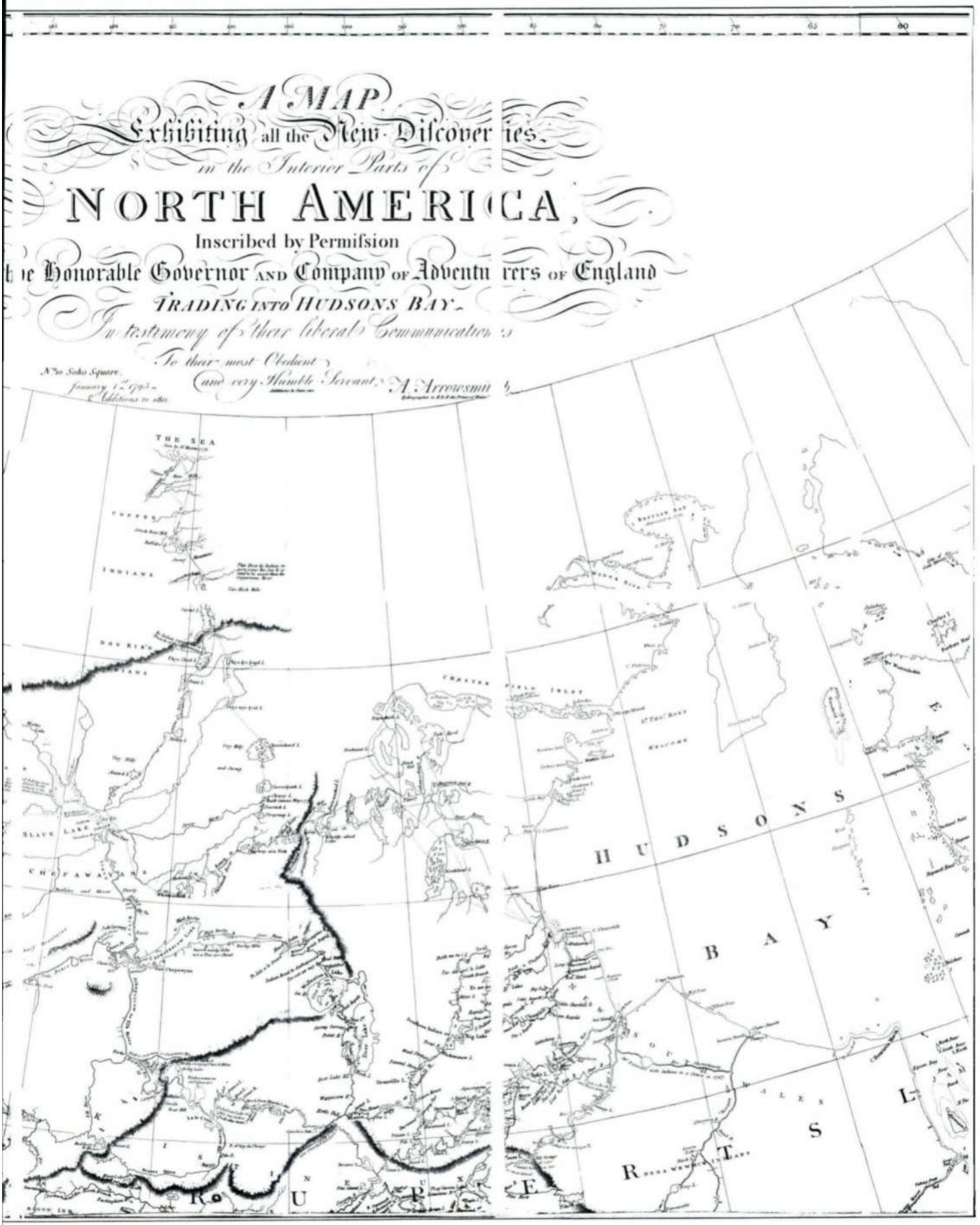
PAINTING BY LORNE BOUCHARD, RCA.

House. Moreover, Wegg played the same role between Pennant and Samuel Hearne, when the latter was in London in 1782-83. Pennant acknowledged his general debt to the Company and to both Graham and Hearne in particular for information on the zoology and environment of the northern lands and for the many specimens available to him for study.

The same collection provided John Reinhold Forster, F.R.S., with the sources for his two papers in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in 1772, *Account of several Quadrupeds from Hudson's Bay*, and *An Account of the Birds sent from Hudson's Bay*. Forster expressed his thanks to Andrew Graham for his information and noted that 'the Governors of the Hudson's-Bay Company have most obligingly sent orders that these communications should be from time to time continued.'

Governor Wegg's candour in relation to the Company's storehouse of information was elaborated upon to a greater degree by the Rt Reverend J. Douglas, editor of the 1786 official edition of Captains James Cook's and James King's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean Undertaken By Command of His Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere*. Douglas commended the Governor and Committee by acknowledging that they 'have made amends for the narrow prejudices of their predecessors' and by affirming 'that everything has been done by them, that could be required by the Public, toward perfecting the search for a North West passage.' Moreover, he reported, 'Mr. Wegg, besides sharing in the thanks so justly due to the committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, for their unreserved communications, was particularly obliging to the Editor, by giving him repeated opportunities of conversing with Governor Hearne, and Captain Cristopher.' Lieutenant Henry Roberts, who compiled the accompanying maps for the book was even more specific in detailing his indebtedness to the Company and Governor Wegg. Said he in a source footnote, 'The whole of Hudson's Bay I took from a chart, compiled by Mr. Marley, from all the most authentic maps he could procure of those parts with which I was favoured by Samuel Wegg, Esq; F.R.S. and Governor of that Company, who also politely furnished me with Mr. Hearne's Journals, and the map of his route to the Coppermine River . . . together with the survey of Chesterfield Inlet made by Captain Cristopher and Mr. Moses Norton, in 1762; and the discoveries from York Fort to Cumberland, and Hudson Houses . . . extending to Lake Winnipeg, from the drafts of Mr. Philip Turnor, made in 1778 and 1779 . . . . And from this lake, the disposition of the other lakes to the Southward of it, and which communicate with it, is formed, and laid down from a map constructed by Mr. Spurrel, in the Company's service. The Albany and Moose rivers to Gloucester House, and to Lake Abbitibbe and Superior, are also drawn from a map of Mr. Turnor's'.




A MAP
Exhibiting all the New Discoveries
in the Interior Parts of
NORTH AMERICA,
Inscribed by Permission
to the Honorable Governor and Company of Adventurers of England
TRADING INTO HUDSONS BAY.
In testimony of their liberal Communications
To their most Obedient
and very Humble Servant
A Arrowsmith
N.o 10 Soho Square.
January 1.st 1795.
Additions to 1802
THE SEA
INDIANS
CHIPEWYANS
DOG RIBS
SLAVE LAKE
CHOPAWAYANS
COPPER INDIANS
HUDSONS BAY
ROCKY MOUNTAINS

The often-quoted Samuel Hearne became the author of his own account *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean*, which he dedicated to Samuel Wegg, Governor, the Deputy-Governor and the rest of the Committee of the Company, since 'the following Journey was undertaken at [their] Request and Expense'. He was most grateful to the Company because in preparing his book, and in order to rectify errors found in other persons' accounts of his journey, he 'applied to the Governor and Committee . . . for leave to peruse my original Journals. This was granted with the greatest affability and politeness; as well as a sight of all my charts relative to this Journey.' He also defended somewhat effusively the actions of the Company over the years to promote an understanding of the geography of the vast realm in the north and west of America. If no more than an exercise in public relations, the Company's more open policies were obviously showing some success, for the reading public was also being made aware of these various sentiments through the medium of reviews of these publications in leading magazines, such as *The Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Monthly Review*.

And if such magazine reviews and various published books were not sufficient to keep the Hudson's Bay Company's name and enlightened attitude before the public, certain of the copious writings of Alexander Dalrymple were of considerable additional aid. Tracts, memoirs, maps and books were laid before the public, essentially dealing with the expansion of British trade, with schemes for the furtherance of British hegemony in North America and the southern Pacific. Dalrymple found Wegg's friendship of great value to himself, for in addition to testing out his ideas in their many conversations he was given free rein to peruse the Company Archives. In 1789 he expressed his personal obligation to the Company 'for their very liberal communication of the many Surveys and Observations that have been made at their expense'. Indeed he said 'such works are only to be expected from Public Bodys'. In compiling his *Map of The Lands around the North-Pole* of 1789, he said 'My Friend Mr. Wegg assured me that every information, in possession of the Hudson's Bay Company would readily be communicated' and 'I found that the Geographical Materials . . . were very copious, and much exceed my expectations.'

As a consequence of Dalrymple's espousal of a proposal to have the Hudson's Bay Company and the East India Company linked together in a far-flung commercial organization, and believing that there might still be a Northwest Passage found which would hopefully link the two great oceans of trade, Wegg and the Committee were able to be convinced to support a further maritime expedition in the Bay. The agreement reached was that the Company would provide a vessel and support, if the Admiralty would agree to choose a naval officer as Commander. In this way the public could be assured of the seriousness of purpose of the expedition. The choice was Captain Charles Duncan, but, in spite of the 'official' cast given to the enterprise, and the three seasons of 1790-1792 spent in the trial, it came to naught. No new discoveries were forthcoming.

Although some of the geographical detail of Rupert's Land provided by the H B C appeared on at least two maps of the north of the continent by 1790, those of Roberts and Dalrymple, their dissemination was considerably more restricted than the cartographic masterpiece of Aaron Arrowsmith, *A Map Exhibiting all the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America*. From 1795 and extending to 1857, this map was produced in up to 15 editions or revisions by Arrowsmith and his family. The initiation of this cartographic succession was the logical outcome of the increasing co-operation of the Committee with the scientific, exploratory leadership in British society in the latter half of the century. It was the most deliberate of the moves made by Samuel Wegg and his executive colleagues for it meant that, within the stricter limits of commercial disclosure, the Company committed itself also to internal archival exploration and discovery. This policy was clearly acknowledged by Arrowsmith in the title of this exemplary map where he declared that it was inscribed to the Honourable Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay 'In Testimony of their liberal Communications'.

From surface appearances alone Samuel Wegg could be epitomized as an eighteenth-century businessman and lawyer of Great Britain, a moderately wealthy member of the middle class, a sober family man and community leader. Yet, these appellations neither reveal the unusual educational circumstances which moulded his thoughts and actions for nearly a half century, nor the character of his executive acumen which must surely have exceeded that of his immediate associates in breadth of outlook and of imagination. None of his fellow Committeemen, during his years of office, appear to have been exposed as he was to the same range of educated thought, to new concepts in the natural and physical sciences, to burgeoning geographical data about the world, of which Rupert's Land was a connected part, and to such leading men of ideas and of action. Couple this with the opportunity which he took of integrating into some coherent economic geographic structure the mass of information penned at trading posts located over thousands of miles of the North, from explorers far out on the trail, from ships' captains plying difficult seas, and from experienced servants home on leave. If one correlates all these elements with his knowledge of the intricacies of the financial and trading world, one can appreciate that in Samuel Wegg the Hudson's Bay Company benefited greatly from the services and leadership of an unusual man during a signal period of its history.

Eleven Areas of Rare Diversity in THE CANADIAN NORTH

By J. D. H. Lambert, Associate Professor of Biology, Carleton University, Ottawa.

S. D. MacDONALD

Ivory gulls on tiny Seymour Island argue about food.

THE CANADIAN NORTH contains rare plants and animals and combinations of species found nowhere else in the world. Some localities are seasonal habitats for migratory animals or are distinctive as examples of particular arctic ecosystems. These biologically important sites may also have a related geological or historical value. The need for protection of these areas may not always be recognized because of the vastness of the region.

Over the past ten years there has been a considerable increase in man's activities north of 60 degrees. Such activity is bound to have an effect on the ecology of the area. Because the Arctic has such a small number of species and a short growing season (less than 90 days) any serious disturbance to the vegetation can affect the population levels of all mammals and birds. The damming or blocking of streams and rivers can affect fish spawning sites and runs and waterfowl nesting and feeding areas.

In the mid-1960s under the sponsorship of the International Council of Scientific Union (ICSU) the International Biological Program, a conservation program was begun to locate and describe important biological areas and eventually to seek special recognition for them.

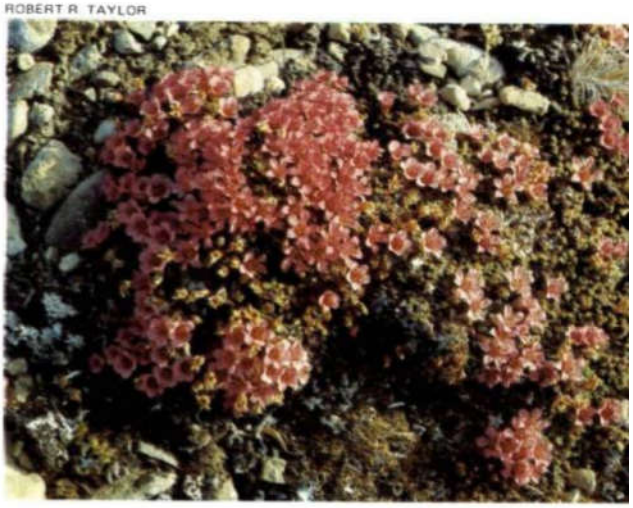
Canada has been active in the program since 1968. Ten regions were established with federal, provincial, and university personnel on each regional panel.

Panels covering the Yukon and Northwest Territories (one responsible for tundra, the other for forested regions) were organized in 1969. Their aims were to locate and describe important northern sites; to document their biological significance; to evaluate them in terms of native rights and the needs of industry; and to work with the federal and the territorial governments in the establishment and protection of proposed areas.

Both panels (which include representatives of native, university, petroleum, government and private interests) have sought acceptance of their proposals from all who might be affected in some way. Members work on a voluntary basis with financial support from the National Research Council, Department of Environment and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs for field work, travel expenses, student help and general administration costs. Oil companies have assisted in supplying air transportation and accommodation in remote areas.

In the world perspective, ecological areas in the Arctic would have similar values to national parks, wildlife preserves, or sanctuaries. They are in fact international in their importance. A tropical nation cannot

ROBERT R. TAYLOR



Purple saxifrage.

Arctic white heather.

ROBERT R. TAYLOR

The vegetation in the area of Expedition Fiord, Axel Heiberg Island is extremely rich for a High Arctic location. Rock ptarmigan and Arctic hare are abundant.

ROBERT R. TAYLOR

Arctic Hare.

ROBERT R. TAYLOR

preserve an arctic area nor can a northern nation like Canada preserve in their natural state the lions of East Africa. Each nation must depend on fellow nations to establish an international system to preserve its special areas.

By 1974 a total of 145 sites had been located, 72 in the tundra and 73 in the forested areas in the territories. Many of the identified areas contain unique or rare plants or animals, geological and archaeological phenomena and endangered plants or animals in their natural habitat.

Some of the proposed areas are representative of natural ecosystems while others will serve as examples of ecosystems which have been disturbed by man and offer the opportunity for study of their recovery. Many of these areas will be of value for scientific research and educational purposes associated with studies.

Of the proposed 145 areas, eleven (six tundra, four forest and one joint tundra-forest) have been selected to form a foundation for the establishment of ecological areas in northern Canada. These initial sites have been selected to show the great diversity of plants, animals and landscapes and in the case of the ivory gull, to protect a rare bird. A brief description of each of these sites follows.

Seymour Island, northwest of Bathurst Island, has a total area of three square miles and appears as a series of boulder-strewn benches rising above the pack ice. Seymour Island is the only known breeding site of the rare ivory gull in North America. In order to survive they require remote, undisturbed nesting sites. Unlike other gulls, they are unable to tolerate any disturbance during their breeding season (between May and September).

The value of this tiny island and its colony of ivory gulls has now been recognized. It has been made a protected migratory bird sanctuary.

Expedition Fiord, Axel Heiberg Island, contains spectacular alpine and fiord scenery with a series of glaciers originating in the McGill Icecap. The vegetation of the area is extremely rich (130 different plant species) for a High Arctic location. The richness and great number of plant species found in this area indicate that the western part of Axel Heiberg Island may not have been completely covered by glaciers during the last ice age.

The area has a large breeding population of rock ptarmigan. Arctic hare are abundant. The site contains a representation of many major biogeographic zones found in the High Arctic. Oil exploration is increasing in and around this proposed area.

South central Bathurst Island includes extensive lowlands and surrounding uplands between Goodsir and Bracebridge Inlets and the Brooman Peninsula. The wide valley and adjacent uplands contain nesting and feeding sites for king eider, greater snowgeese, brant, rock ptarmigan, jaegers, snowy owls and shorebirds. Range for musk-oxen, caribou and lemmings is abundant.

Several stone tent rings, marking sites of Thule Eskimo hunting camps, are found on both sides of the

valley. On the southern end of Brooman Peninsula are two large Thule village sites.

The National Museum has maintained a research station in the area since 1968, and has conducted behavioural studies on the mammal and bird populations.

Cape Sparbo on the northeastern coast of Devon Island includes the Truelove Lowlands and a portion of the Sverdrup Glacier. The vegetation is exceptionally rich for the latitude and many animals live on these

This Thule hut, on northeast Devon Island, with its rock walls and whalebone 'rafters' may have been used by Dr Frederick Cook in the winter of 1908-09.

WARD ELOCK

J. D. H. LAMBERT

The Caribou Hills.

A Thule site is located on the lower left hand corner of the sedge meadow, just above the beach line in this view of Cape Skogn, in the Truelove Lowland.

WARD ELCOCK

Geese on the low lush arctic meadow of the McConnell River site near Eskimo Point.

J. P. PREVETT

lowlands. Twelve Eskimo sites are known in the area: three contain both pre-Dorset and Thule artifacts, three Thule, four pre-Dorset and two historic artifacts. The span of time represented is 3,500 years, including the earliest known culture of the Eastern and High Arctic.

In 1960, the Arctic Institute of North America and the Polar Continental Shelf Project established a base camp on the Truelove Lowlands. Geological, glaciological, and archaeological studies are continuing. In 1970 the site was selected for intensive study as part of the IBP Tundra Biome Project. An integrated series of studies on climate, soil, plants, soil micro-organisms, mammals (muskox, fox, lemming) and birds, is being completed and will give information on the productivity of a High Arctic ecosystem.

The McConnell River site is located on the west coast of Hudson Bay, 20 miles south of Eskimo Point, N.W.T. The river mouth is one of the most lush wildlife habitats in the Arctic.

The area incorporates breeding grounds for migratory waterfowl; it also is the terminus for many birds following the Central Flyway. A total of 111 species of birds have been sighted. The most notable feature is the large colony of blue geese. The vegetation, representative of low arctic meadow communities, is rich in species.

Human activity in the area has been slight but if it increased, the goose colonies could be under serious threat, especially from low-flying aircraft.

The Caribou Hills form the eastern boundary of the Mackenzie River Delta, 15 miles north of Inuvik, N.W.T. Included within the boundary of the site are two delta islands and a portion of the rolling plateau 500-800 feet above the river. The site includes the old Reindeer Preserve settlement established by A. E. Porsild in 1935.

The Caribou Hills rise sharply from the delta. The steep, eroding slopes of the hills consist of gravel and sand and are a striking feature of the area. Northeast of Reindeer Station are a series of large elongated lakes. Peter Lake, one of the largest, is 190 feet deep — very deep for a tundra lake. The hills have a unique vegetation and lie within the transition zone between Boreal Forest and Arctic Tundra. The Mackenzie River causes a moderation of the climate and allows the northward range extension of more southerly species. The erosion gullies, stream valleys, different soil types and distance from the river provide a diversity of micro-habitats in which a wide variety of species co-exist.

Both boreal and tundra animals are present in the Caribou Hills. The bird population is large; the bald and golden eagle have a history of nesting in the area. Barren ground grizzlies and black bears, foxes, wolves and ground squirrels are common. The deep lakes contain a wide variety of fish.

There has been significant human impact in the area in recent years. Extensive seismic grids have been run through the area since the early 1960s. The sensitive

west-facing slopes of the hills are extremely vulnerable to human activity. Any increase in seismic activity, drilling, road construction and the mining of gravel could seriously endanger already vulnerable populations.

Brackett Lake is located 20 miles north northeast of the village of Fort Norman, N.W.T. The lake area has a long history of use by Indian hunters, trappers and fishermen, and is biologically highly productive.

The site is on the low-lying flood plain of the Brackett River. The valley was covered by Wisconsin glacial ice and the Brackett Lake area forms part of a post-glacial lake bed. Many small lakes and ponds are scattered throughout the area. Peat overlies a deep soil laid down on the bottom of the glacial lake.

Most of the area is covered by a complex of black spruce, larch, shrubs and forbs. Because of past fires all stages of plant succession from bare ground to densely wooded land with deep peat may be found. The shores of the streams, ponds and lakes are lined with sedge meadows which give food and protection to waterfowl.

Brackett Lake and vicinity is an important staging area in the spring and fall for migrant whistling swans, white-fronted geese and ducks. The deciduous vegetation in the burnt area provides abundant year-round feed for moose. Small numbers of woodland caribou move through the area. Also common in the area are black bear, lynx, arctic hare, beaver, mink, muskrat and marten. There are otter in the Brackett River.

ROBERT R. TAYLOR

Arctic cotton.

The Brackett Lake area provides critical subsistence resources to the small settlement at the mouth of the Loche River. The current use of the proposed area by the native residents is compatible with the goals of the conservation program. The seasonal resident hunters, fishermen and trappers will profit from wise resource management and will suffer if the habitat of the fauna they depend on is destroyed. A reserve would protect the interests of the Indian residents and would not interfere with their traditional activities.

Pilot Lake is a 220-foot-deep, flat-bottomed, nearly circular lake on the Precambrian Shield about 36 miles northeast of Fort Smith, N.W.T. It is the only lake of meteoric origin known in the forested region of the Northwest Territories. The whole area was ice-covered during the last glaciation.

The rolling hills in the area are dominated by open stands of jack-pine over a thick mat of lichen and scattered clumps of bearberry. Spruce occurs in depressions in peaty soils while around pot-hole lakes, willows, sedges, grasses and some semi-aquatic and aquatic species of vegetation are found.

Twenty-two species of mammals occupy the area at least seasonally. A number are taken annually by a local trapper. Caribou are rare, although many years ago they were commonly seen near Pilot Lake. Lake trout and whitefish are plentiful.

A sport-fishing enterprise is operated by a resident of Fort Smith. An essential step is to estimate the capacity of the fish population to withstand fishing for food (by the trapper) and sport. A minimum of restrictions and use of common sense should protect the pristine quality of the proposed area.

The Plains of Abraham is an alpine tundra plateau situated approximately 50 miles south southwest of Norman Wells, N.W.T., in the Mackenzie Mountains. The Plains were bypassed by the Laurentide and Cordilleran glaciers that moulded much of the surrounding topography. The Plains constitute the most extensive sedimentary alpine plateau in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. Solifluction, stone stripes and active polygon formation are evident on the plateau.

The vegetation cover is sparse and classified as relatively dry alpine tundra. A number of vascular plants and mosses are of interest and their occurrence is probably related to the lack of glaciation on the plateau. A number of birds found on the Plains are normally confined to the Arctic and not found in the boreal zone. Few mammals reside yearlong on the Plains of Abraham. The grey wolf, wolverine and woodland caribou are all seasonal occupants; the red fox and moose are transients. The singing vole, a subspecies, occurs only in this area so far as is known. Dall's ewes and juveniles are the only large mammals that reside year-long.

The area surrounding Shoran Lake, Banks Island, is deeply dissected and provides sheltered valleys for wildlife and a rich vegetation. The site includes a critical muskox calving area. The valley vegetation is excellent grazing range for the muskox and caribou. Once nearly wiped out by hunters, the muskox population on the island is presently estimated to be close to 3,000. Two threatened bird species, the rough-legged hawk and little brown crane, nest in the area. The glacial history of the area is difficult to determine. It is not clear whether the last glacial ice advance covered the entire area or not.

Several pre-Dorset archaeological sites have been located in the vicinity of Shoran Lake. Recent human impact has been slight, for the site lies outside of the favourite hunting and trapping areas of the Sachs Harbour Eskimos, and oil exploration has been carefully regulated by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. However, if the surrounding areas should prove potentially productive for oil the site would be a natural corridor into the central part of the island.

Glacier Lake is located on the east slope of the Ragged Range in the southern Mackenzie Mountains. Glacier-capped, saw-toothed mountains rise abruptly to as much as 6,500 ft above the South Nahanni and Flat River valleys. Glacial cirques, arêtes, meltwater channels, deltas, moraines and erratics at high altitudes and the glacial lake are enclosed by the boundaries of the proposed area of 149 square miles.

White spruce forests dominate the lower mountain slopes, a subalpine shrub zone made up principally of willows and dwarf birch grows on the middle slopes, and a varied group of alpine-tundra communities are at higher elevations. The timber-line is between 1,200 - 2,400 feet above lake level (3,800 - 5,000 feet above sea level). The population of water shrew in the delta of Brintnell Creek is on the northern fringe of its range.

The boundaries of the proposed ecological sites have been drawn to encompass the most important biological areas and to protect the life systems they represent. The boundaries should also protect the hunting and fishing resources of the north and acknowledge the necessary considerations for development. In many areas, such as sea-bird cliff-nesting sites, ecological areas can be small and still protect the components for which they are concerned. In nearly all areas current hunting, fishing and trapping activities by native people within site boundaries will not conflict with goals of the International Biological Program.

The urgency at present is to obtain the recognition by government of biological values as important natural resources, and for the creation of a system to protect these resources. Space and recreational value of renewable natural resources are among the most valuable of Canada's possessions; care should be taken to protect them. Recognition that, in certain areas, biological values outweigh all other values, must become an established consideration in the development of the North.

The author gratefully acknowledges the contribution of his co-workers on the IBP Tundra and Boreal Panels. ◆

MY NAME IS MASAK

BY ALICE FRENCH

The author, whose Eskimo name is Masak, was born on Baillie Island, NWT in June 1930, and attended All Saint's Residential School in Aklavik for seven years. She now lives in Grand Rapids, Manitoba, with her husband Dominic, and her son and daughter.

IN THE SPRING OF 1937 when I was seven years old my father told my brother and me that our mother had tuberculosis and would have to go from Cambridge Bay to the hospital in Aklavik. So when the Hudson's Bay Company ship came in with supplies, my father and mother and my brother, Aynounik, and I, sailed back on it. We got measles on board and that made my mother even sicker. I don't know how long it took us on that trip but it seemed to last forever.

When we landed at Aklavik my mother went to the hospital and my brother and I were told we would be going to a boarding school, whatever that was. My father tried to explain that a boarding school was where children lived and went to school. He would not be able to take care of us while mother was in the hospital and we would have to stay there. I did not like the idea. My brother was only three years old and too young to understand.

How could there be so many people living in one building? I was so scared that I hung onto my father's hand. I did not like it there and I did not want my father to leave us. There were too many people. My brother was taken away by one of the supervisors. I tried not to cry in front of my father – he felt bad enough as it was.

An Eskimo girl, whose dialect I did not understand, took me to the playroom. She was talking to me in Eskimo, but it did not make sense. Thank goodness she spoke English too. She told me that we were having supper soon. I asked her if I would see my brother. She said yes, at supper time. Then she introduced me to the other girls by my Christian name – Alice. My Eskimo name was not mentioned and I did not hear my name Masak again until I went home.

Then I became aware of different languages. I asked my new friend what dialect the girls were speaking. I was told that it was the langugage of the Mackenzie Delta and that most of the Eskimo children were from there, except for a few from Coppermine and Cambridge Bay. There were a lot of Indian children from the upper Mackenzie. They are mostly Loucheux with some Dogribs and Slaveys.

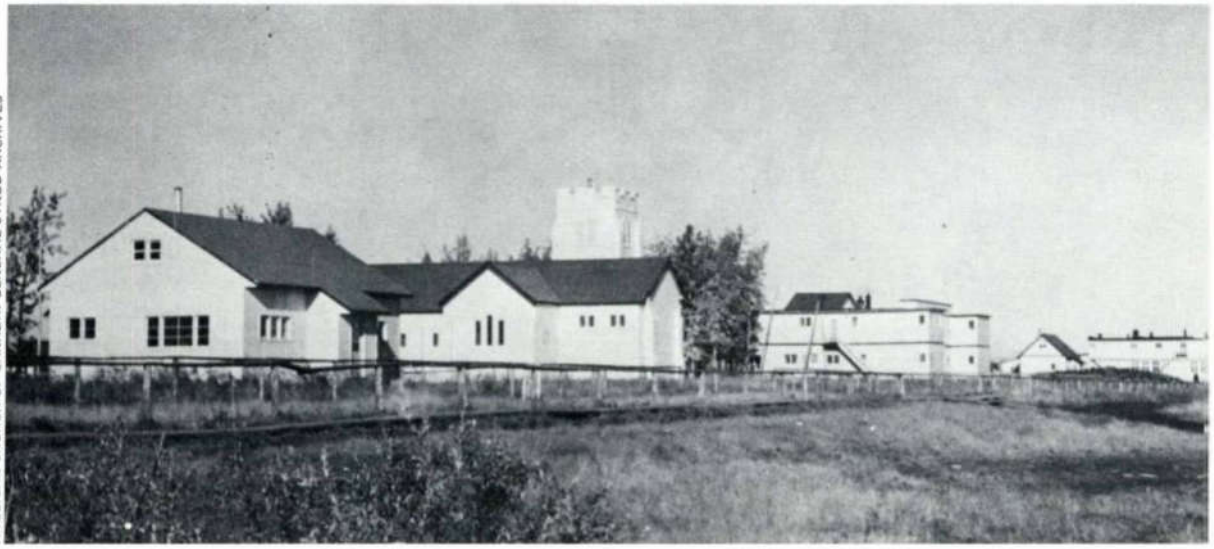
Then a white lady came in to tell us it was supper time. Everyone got into line except me. She took my hand and told me her name was Miss Neville. I was taken to one of the lines and told that this would be my place from now on. We marched in single file to the dining-room. Suddenly I saw my little brother. I started towards him, but I was told to stay in line. How little he looked, lost and lonesome. I felt like going over to tell him that everything was going to be all right, only I was not too sure of that myself.

After supper we went back to our side of the school. I did not even get to talk to my brother. We saw each

DOMINIC FRENCH

The author gathers berries on the coast of Hudson Bay near Churchill, Manitoba.

Excerpts from her book 'My name is Masak' to be released this month, are used with permission of Peguis Publishers of Winnipeg.



ANGLICAN CHURCH OF CANADA: GENERAL SYNOD ARCHIVES

All Saints' Residential School at Aklavik is shown on the far right, and beside it is All Saints' Hospital where Alice's mother died in 1937. In the foreground is the missionary's residence (left) and All Saints' Cathedral.

other only at meal-times. Sometime we had the chance to shout at each other while playing outside but even outside the boys and girls were not allowed to mix.

Sometime later that fall Reverend [H. S.] Shepherd our minister, came to the school to tell me that my mother had died. I did not believe him because I had visited her that morning. I went back to the hospital to find her but the bed she had been in was empty. How could she be there one day and not the next? I felt terribly alone. She was the only link I had with home and the life I had been used to. My father had gone back to his trapline and we would not hear from him for a long time. It was not out of cruelty but out of necessity that he left us.

Inside the school we had four dormitories on the girls' side. I was in the little girls' dormitory for ages six to eight. The dormitories were joined by a big common washroom. There were towel hooks along both walls, wash basins and jugs of water on a long table. Little brushes and tins of powder were on a shelf built into the middle of the table. I had to wait to see what the other girls would use the little brushes for, so I watched what they did with them as we got ready for bed.

So that was what it was – to brush your teeth with. I wondered what that was supposed to do for you. Somebody told me that it was to keep you from having holes in your teeth. They certainly did have a lot of strange ideas. Another idea was combing your hair with coal oil when you first came to the school. That was to kill the head lice. I didn't have any but we all had to suffer through the coal-oil treatment whether we had lice or not.

Our house mother's name was Annie and she had a room just off the washroom. She told me that my mother was her cousin. This did not mean that I would be favoured above the other girls, but it felt good to know that I had a relative close at hand. She got us off to bed at night and woke us up in the morning.

The staff slept in rooms along the hallway. Downstairs were two big classrooms, kitchen, staff dining-room, children's dining-room, principal's office, laundry room, a furnace room and two playrooms. The lavatory used to be outside until they had one built into the side of our playroom. The whole of the basement was a storeroom for school supplies and food was kept there, like in a root-cellar.

Our days started at seven in the morning. We dressed, washed and brushed our teeth, made our beds and tidied our dorms. Then we went down to breakfast at eight o'clock. Usually we had porridge, sweetened with molasses, bread and jam, and tea to drink with sugar and milk. It never varied except on holidays. At nine we went to the classrooms. Then a break for lunch – soup, bread and powdered milk – and back to school again. Supper was the big meal of the day with fish, meat, potatoes, dessert, bread and tea. We had this at five-thirty, usually after a walk around town, or out into the country with our teacher. Bedtime was seven o'clock for the little ones; eight o'clock for the next lot and so on, until the oldest were in bed at ten and the lights were turned out. I expect it was the same for the boys.

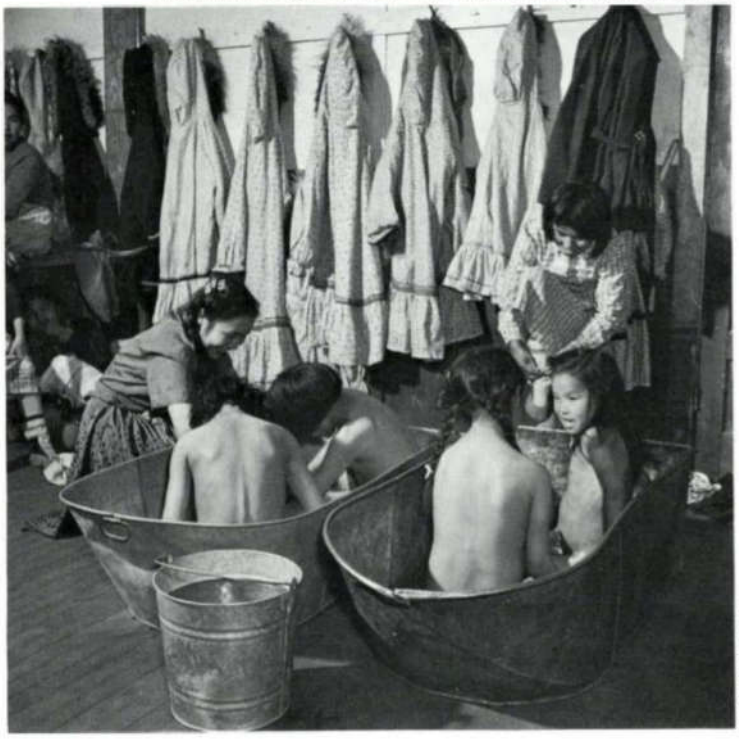
While we were getting ready for bed we talked about the scary stories we would tell after the lights were out. I shivered thinking about them while I brushed my teeth. Betty, standing next to me at the sink, jabbed me in the ribs and scared me half to death.

'Hey Alice' she said. 'Did you know that we have a ghost in our dorm? She always sits in the corner combing her hair and you can see the blue sparks flying in every direction.' I started to shake because my bed was in one of the far corners of the room.

Alice in the doorway of the tent during her first year at residential school. She wears the fur-trimmed parka that her mother made for her in Cambridge Bay.

ANGLICAN CHURCH OF CANADA: GENERAL SYNOD ARCHIVES

On bath night, the younger children were bathed two to a tub. Cold water was poured over them afterwards 'to close our pores'.



GEORGE HUNTER

'Which corner' I asked in a quavery voice.

'Your corner' she said and went off to bed.

Then Miss Neville came in and I pleaded with her to tell us a story. As long as she was telling a story the lights would stay on and maybe the girls would go to sleep or be too tired to tell ghost stories.

'Not tonight, Alice' said Miss Neville. 'All right girls, time for bed. No talking after lights out, please.'

She looked around to make sure that we were all under our covers and then she turned out the light and closed the door. It sure was dark in there then. I made certain that my bedding was loose so that I could jump out of bed fast if I had to.

They began to tell stories. Why did they always have to be scary ones – reindeer herders taking a coffin creaking through the woods on a sleigh, men reincarnated in dogs, rattling doors, and the devil's cloven hoof-prints on the snow?

Connie whose bed was closest to the door was posted as lookout. Her job was to tell us if someone was coming, but she was a most unlikely choice for the job. She talked more than any of us, and often she would forget that she was supposed to be listening for the supervisor's footsteps. As a result we were caught talking and were punished. We had to stand in the corner of the room for half an hour. This got to be very cold, for all we had on was our night dresses.

One night I was punished in another way for using my bed as a trampoline. I was showing the girls how to go into a standing position from a belly flop. As I came down the bed collapsed to the floor with a crash. Just as I disappeared from view into the bedding, the door opened and there stood Miss Neville.

'What is going on here?' she asked sternly.

There was a silence while I climbed from the ruins of my bed. She came over and grabbed my shoulder and gave me a good shaking.

'Alice, how many time have I told you not to jump on your bed?'

'Many times, Miss Neville' I answered with my teeth rattling in my head.

'That is correct' she said. 'For being a naughty and disobedient child you shall sleep in your bed, just as it is for a week. Now all of you settle down and no more nonsense.'

I climbed into bed and found that it was quite comfortable. In the morning I woke up and realized that I had slept through the night without once waking up because of the cold. By the end of the week I had grown quite attached to my bed on the floor and hated to give it up for another.

Friday night was bath night. We were issued clean bedding and clothing. This consisted of one pair of long underwear, one pair of fleece-lined bloomers, one pair of black woollen stockings, a navy blue dress and clean towels. We took this with us and all headed for the

laundry room. Inside there were eight galvanized tubs, ready for use. These tubs were all filled by hand and had to be emptied the same way. We bathed two to a tub. Sometimes it got so steamed up that we could not see who our partners were. Our hair was washed by the bigger girls. Following this a jug of cold water was poured over us. This was to shrink our pores so that we would not catch cold, we were politely told.

Saturday was the pleasantest day of the week. We did all our housework in the morning, sweeping, dusting and washing. After lunch, if we had parents in town, we could go home for the afternoon. I sometimes went home with my good friend, called Peanuts because of her size. Her house was right in town. We would go out to the Hudson's Bay store or to visit our other friends. Sometimes we would just sit in Peanuts' home, enjoying the family atmosphere. After the crowded school life it felt good just to be ourselves for a while.

Once a week, usually on Sunday, we were given seven candies by our supervisor. We were not allowed to eat them all at once. Instead we put them in a small box with our name on it and each night before bedtime we could have one candy. Sometimes we promised a friend the candy for a favour we wanted and at bedtime that night we had to go without.

Something else that we had each day was cod-liver oil and it sure did not taste good. It came in five-gallon cans on the boat in the summer. Before it was dished out it was poured into a two-pound can which our supervisor held. We would file past her each morning for a table-spoon and then dash to the toilet and spit it out. When our supervisor caught on to this we had to stay and open our mouths to show that we had swallowed the nasty stuff. I guess that was why we were so healthy. But by the time the five-gallon can was empty it was so rancid you could smell it a mile away. I have never taken cod-liver oil since.

My first teacher was Miss Farrow and after Christmas her job was much easier for we were all able to speak fairly well in English. I was luckier than some of my girl friends, because I had learned English from my father. We had not been allowed to speak in our native tongue since coming to school and it was hard on some of my friends. If we were caught speaking in Eskimo we were punished. This was a frustrating but effective system.

I really did not mind reading and writing but I sure did not like arithmetic. Some of the subjects we read about puzzled me. Dogs I already knew about, and cats. I had seen my first horse, but what were sheep and cows and pigs? Chickens looked something like ptarmigan and the eggs were good to eat.

We learned a nursery rhyme:
Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall
Humpty Dumpty had a great fall

GEORGE HUNTER

While Masak was at the residential school, the scene 'Epiphany in the Snows' by Violet Teague of Melbourne, Australia, was consecrated in All Saints' Cathedral, Aklavik.

All the king's horses and all the king's men
Couldn't put Humpty Dumpty together again.

According to the picture book Humpty Dumpty was an egg, so how could he be dressed and sitting on a wall? I asked Miss Farrow about this and did not seem to get any answers. A rhyme that puzzled me even more was

Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle
The cow jumped over the moon
The little dog laughed to see such sport
And the dish ran away with the spoon.

Now I knew cats could not play fiddles. I did not know whether cows could jump over the moon or not, but I was sure that dishes could not run and certainly not with spoons. I worried about my teacher sometimes. She did not seem to know the difference between what creatures could and could not do.

Each year, as my reading got better, I found that books hold a vast store of information and could take me away to distant times and places.

I learned that Ottawa was our capital city in Canada. That was where our Prime Minister lived. He was the one who told everyone else how to live. Besides Canada there were different countries with different kinds of people. England was the country where my teacher used to live. This was hard to feature but I told myself never mind; there were all my tomorrows ahead to learn something new. ◆

Least Weasel.

Wildlife Artist Glen Loates

By S. Harding, Toronto author and naturalist.

The artist on Lake of Bays near Algonquin Park in Ontario.

Young black bear cubs.

TORONTO-BORN ARTIST GLEN LOATES, 31, spends much time sketching his subjects in their natural surroundings. He has travelled the breadth of Canada and the length of North America, spent time in the Yukon, and explored the arid terrain of Arizona. He is not always successful in his search for his animal subjects. During a two-month stay in British Columbia, he found no more than the tracks of the grizzly bear.

Loates has no formal art training; yet, for as long as he can remember, he has always sketched. He believes the art of Walt Disney and John James Audubon had the most influence on his career. He found humour and compassion in Disney's creations. Many of his water-colours of young animals reflect that humour.

'I like to bring out the personality of the animal' he says. 'I spend a lot of time in the wilderness with my binoculars, sketchbook and notebook always at hand.' To do the final painting he uses very small sable brushes on a Fabriano paper; his major works are several months in the making.

When Loates is not painting his more serious works, he finds relaxation in accompanying his artist friend, Walter Councill, on sketching trips. On these occasions he works on notes for future paintings or on pencil drawings of subjects unrelated to his normal efforts. These often depict barns, tree stumps, or fences. Recently he has begun to do loose water-colours of landscapes, as a release from the tensions built up by his strenuous concentration on detailed paintings. These are inspired by his memories of visiting, as a young boy, Toronto artist Fred Brigden, and watching him paint landscapes using a similar technique.

'I was amazed by the superb control Fred Brigden had over his medium. He inspired me to continue my efforts as a water-colourist.'

Glen Loates expresses the hope that his paintings and those of his contemporaries will remain 'as a permanent record of the natural environments we take for granted today.'

Polar bear mother with twin cubs.

Arctic foxes.

Young raccoon.

Fort Albany where Woudbee, Chief Captain among the 'Home' Cree, lived with some of his women for several years. From a water-colour by William Richards, whose grandfather re-established Henley House after the massacres.

The Henley House Massacres

By Charles A. Bishop

And wee the Said Council, do in behalf and in the Name of the Govr and Hudsons Bay Company And in justice to our unfortunate Country Men pronounce the Sentence of death upon Wappisiss alias Woudbe the land Pirate. And his two Sons, Sheanapp and Young Snuff the Blanket, to be hanged, untell they are dead, dead, dead, for a terour to all the Savage Natives from ever being guilty of the like barbarity in future, Signed by the Chief officers and Men at Albany Fort, June 12th 1755.

THUS WAS THE DEATH SENTENCE pronounced upon three Indians for their part in the December 1754 murder of five Hudson's Bay Company traders at the Company's only inland establishment, Henley House. Yet, as unusual as the event is, a mere description of the murders and subsequent punishment of the culprits would be of historical curiosity only. The incident must be understood in the context of the fur trade, the Indians' view of this trade, and their relationship with Europeans at that time. Within these contexts, one socio-economic, the other perceptual, the event takes on new meaning and provides insights into the motives and policies of the H B C on the one hand, and into the attitudes of Indians about traders and other Indians on the other hand.

During the early decades of the eighteenth century, competition in the fur trade between French coureurs-de-bois from Quebec and English traders on James and Hudson Bays heightened as the former expanded their operations northward and westward of the Great Lakes thereby interrupting the flow of trade to the Bay. The intensity of rivalry fluctuated from year to year dependent upon such factors as the quality, quantity, and value of French goods as well as the proximity of the mobile French traders to the coastal English posts.

The year 1743 had marked a turning point in this rivalry. While the French for three decades had established camp trade with the upland Indians at locations inland from James Bay, that spring they began to intercept the Fort Albany home-guard Indians who for the first time 'Came downe all Clothed in french Cloth'. Indeed, the Indians warned that if the English did not

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Dr Bishop, author of 'The Northern Ojibway and the Fur Trade' is Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York College.

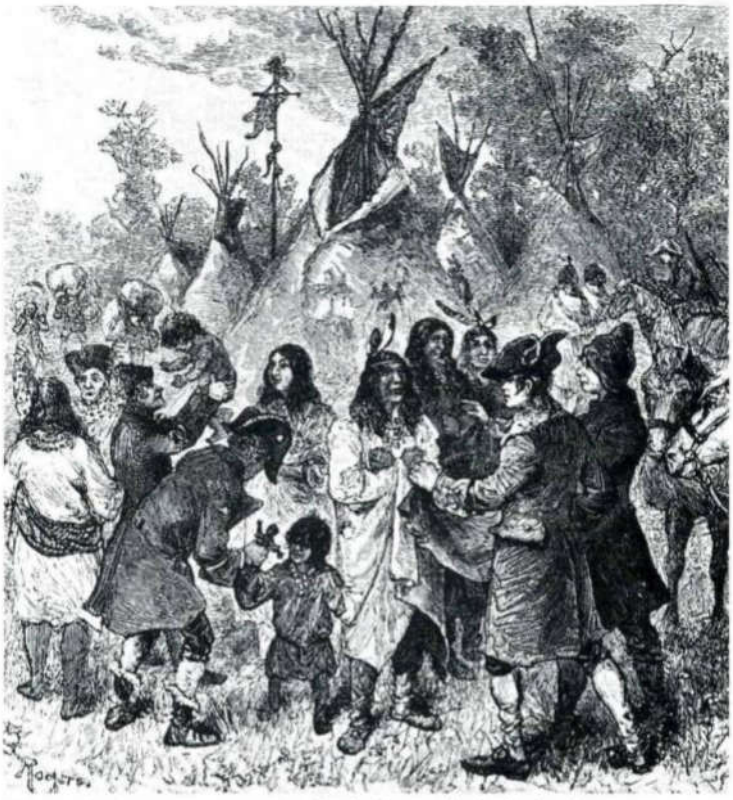
Quotations from the H B C Archives are made with the permission of the Company.

establish an inland settlement, the French would capture all of that inland trade in future. Although English items were cheaper, the easy access to French goods made them more attractive; Indians could avoid the long trip to Fort Albany and thus the frequent danger of their food supply becoming exhausted. Furthermore, the French made threats against Indians who traded with the English and spread rumours that the English posts were to be captured or destroyed. Despite all this, some Indians continued to send their furs to Fort Albany through Cree middlemen, while others continued to make the journey themselves. In order to retain the loyalty of these Indians and gain that of others, Joseph Isbister, Chief at Fort Albany, set out in June of 1743 'To build a house in order to Secure & preserve This Trade'.

William Isbister, brother of Joseph, took on the management of Henley House, the first inland settlement of the Company, until August 1751 when he was replaced by William Lamb. The precariousness of its situation is evidenced by the events which followed. Situated near the forks of the Albany and Kenogami Rivers, it controlled a strategic location. Indeed, the area was already identified by the Cree as 'Keesh a Matawan' — the meeting spot, the place where Indians converged en route to Fort Albany.

The first year it was a complete success. Not one French coat was worn by Indians arriving at Fort Albany. It even drew off Indians from the French posts at Michilimackinac and Nipigon, inciting Governor Beauharnois to write that Henley was to be destroyed if possible. Because of such threats, Henley was well fortified with palisades and gun ports so that it 'looks like a little Castle'. Although these threats never materialized, some Indians encouraged French traders to locate on the Albany River about 150 miles above Henley. The French again began to intercept the trade, threatening the new post and those Indians who, though in 'fear of being killed' for trading at Fort Albany, remained loyal to the English. Thus, during the first phase of its existence, Henley House was viewed as a frontier fort, existing primarily to inhibit the expansion of the French trade and to guarantee safe passage to Indians travelling to the main post, Fort Albany. It was, for the H B C, merely a way station, a place for Indians to rest and engage in minimal trade. The natives were encouraged to continue on to Albany where they could be better supplied. But the aims of the Company for Henley were increasingly frustrated since, as French supplies became more readily available, Indians grew more reluctant to continue on to Albany. The creation of yet another French post only sixty miles above Henley during the spring of 1754 again prevented most of the inland Indians from trading with the H B C. Six months later the Henley House traders were massacred.

The immediate response to this action is to argue that the massacre was the result of the English becoming



The rivalry between companies for Indian trade is depicted in this drawing published in London in 1850.

superfluous due to the easy access which Indians now had to French goods and their desire to please their new European trade partners by eliminating the hated rivals. This, however, is far too facile; the Indians were above all, desirous of keeping alive the competitive trade war of the French and English. In this way they could play off the traders against each other to their own economic advantage. How then to explain the murders?

The drama moves to its second act in March of 1755 when word reached Joseph Isbister at Fort Albany that Henley had been ransacked and the traders were missing. The Indians who reported the trouble thought that the French had incited natives to lure the traders out and kill them. This made sense since, according to Isbister, the French 'give a reward of the Value of five pounds to Indians for the Scalp of every English man they bring'. To prevent the post from being taken over by the French, Isbister paid Indians to go and burn the house, bury any remaining goods, and learn what they could about what had happened. Isbister considered the loss of Henley serious since now the French appeared to be in firm control of most of the inland trade. Despite French presence in the area, Indians as well felt the loss; several home guards had starved to death, being unable to acquire their necessary trade supplies.

Throughout April and May 1755, Isbister was unable to discover from Indian arrivals what had happened. An aura of secrecy, clouded by rumours of strange Indians

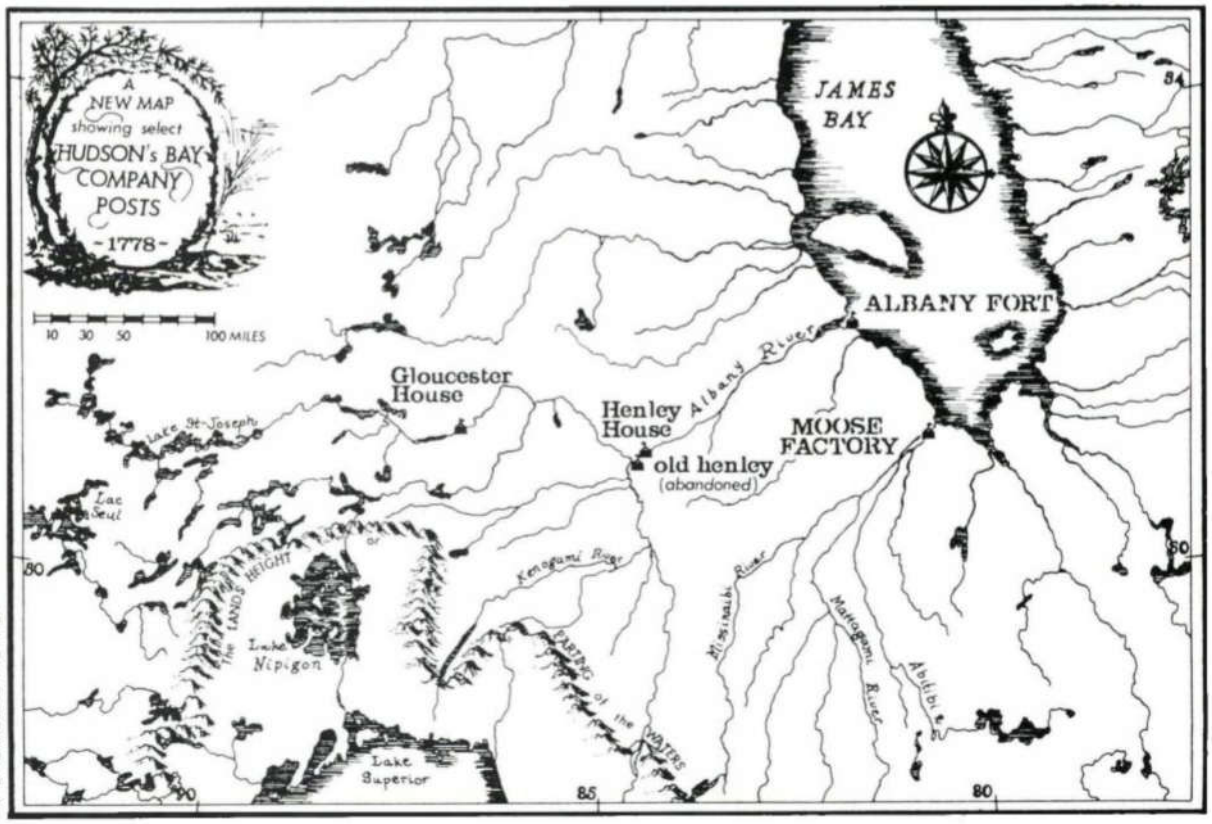
going about, prevailed until the Indian Woudbee arrived on 28 May. Woudbee for many years had been the 'home Captain' at Fort Albany. During this time he and 'Some of his Woman' were allowed permission to live inside the post on English foods while the post was managed by George Spence (1747-1753). While Woudbee grew demanding and impudent taking whatever food he pleased, Spence did nothing to control him. If somebody did check him, Woudbee would reply that the Englishmen 'keeped there Woman, and the Victuals Was for them as Well as for us'. Access to the post had become a right, not merely a privilege to Woudbee and his relatives. Woudbee was also in the habit of robbing the upland Indians of their furs when they arrived at the post in order to pay his own debts, a practice which discouraged uplanders from visiting the fort. Thus, when Woudbee told Joseph Isbister that he found Henley House ransacked and a French Indian lurking about when he visited it in January, Isbister suspected Woudbee's tale because of his former bad behaviour. He kept him at the post by promising him a captain's coat while he questioned other Indians concerning Woudbee's story. The others remained silent, seeming to be afraid to tell what they knew, but hinting that 'home' Indians rather than French Indians had been involved.

Finally, on 3 June an Indian woman named Mammy from the east side of Hudson Bay broke the silence. She reported that Woudbee, two of his sons, one of his sons-in-law, and another Indian went with their families (fourteen in all) to Henley under the pretence of being starved. William Lamb, the manager, let them all in the house and gave them food and lodging, but the next day told Woudbee to build a tent outside the palisades. The Indians were angered at having to leave and when Lamb sent his four servants to check marten traps and do other post duties, Woudbee and his son (Snuff the Blanket) grabbed Lamb, the son shooting him in the head. The four servants were then shot and all the bodies were weighted with stones and thrown in the river.

Woudbee remained at Henley as long as the trade goods held out, giving materials to other Indians as they arrived. When the goods were gone, he ransacked the house.

Mammy made Isbister promise never to divulge who told him this story, for her life would be in danger. Isbister concluded that her story was plausible.

The other Indians remained silent except for one distressed man, three of whose children had starved to death because of a lack of necessary trade goods. He confirmed Mammy's story, remarking that 'the Killing of ye people and robing the House was the Cause of his Distress & loss of his Children this last winter for which he Grieved Much & cried when he told me this story'. Other Indians blamed their hardships that winter on Eskimo witchcraft and threatened to go on an Eskimo hunt.



MAP BY CAROLINE TROTTIER

The next morning Isbister was able to lure Woudbee and his two sons (Snuff the Blanket and Shenap) into the factory after which he locked the gates and had them seized. Upon realizing that Isbister knew the truth, they confessed their guilt, the noses of the two flushed sons gushing blood without violence. After refusing their request to tell them who informed him, Isbister put each in irons in three separated cells. He then went out and fired two shots, later telling each prisoner that the other two had been killed so that there was no reason to withhold information. The manner in which the information was obtained is given in a series of questions and answers reported for each prisoner in the presence of the other officers of the post. According to Isbister, the interrogation was conducted 'in there Own Tongue and Englished to the understanding of the Witnesses'. Their story differed only in minor details from that given by Mammy (for example, the bodies were hidden under wood in the forest rather than dumped in the river). The two brothers accused each other of shooting the manager, William Lamb. There was consensus, however, that their brother-in-law (Annusit or Amissot) and two upland Indians (Pethessis or Potha su and Assittaham) assisted in killing the four other Company employees while they were outside the palisades performing duties. The reason given by Woudbee and reported by Isbister for the murders was that Woudbee and his family were hungry. But when George Rushworth, an officer of the post, replied that Henley House had no food for Indians, Woudbee retorted 'You are a lier, the Victuals is as Much for the Indians as for the Englishmen.' The pretext of being hungry, Isbister later informed London, was a French plot. 'We are Confident that The French are at the bottom of this Villainous affair', since although the trade goods were stolen, the Indians left the post intact to allow the French to take possession of it.

As was earlier indicated, this was not the whole story, although it would appear that it was all that Joseph Isbister wished his superiors in London to know. A letter by George Rushworth, the surgeon at Albany, supplies the critical details.

Rushworth wrote that when Joseph Isbister returned to manage Fort Albany in the summer of 1753, he was not welcomed by the Indians in general. One reason may have been because he was less generous in giving out debts than Spence (who managed the post from 1747 to 1753) had been. Another reason may have been his curtailment of the permissiveness that had prevailed. Spence not only had allowed Indians access to the post, but he also permitted the servants to go 'over the Works in the Night' to sleep in the Indian tents. Rushworth warned Spence against allowing these practices fearing that the post would be robbed and the servants' throats cut, but Spence would reply that the Company did not care what went on so long as a good trade was obtained. Isbister's return ended all of this and Woudbee and family were expelled from the post for which action the

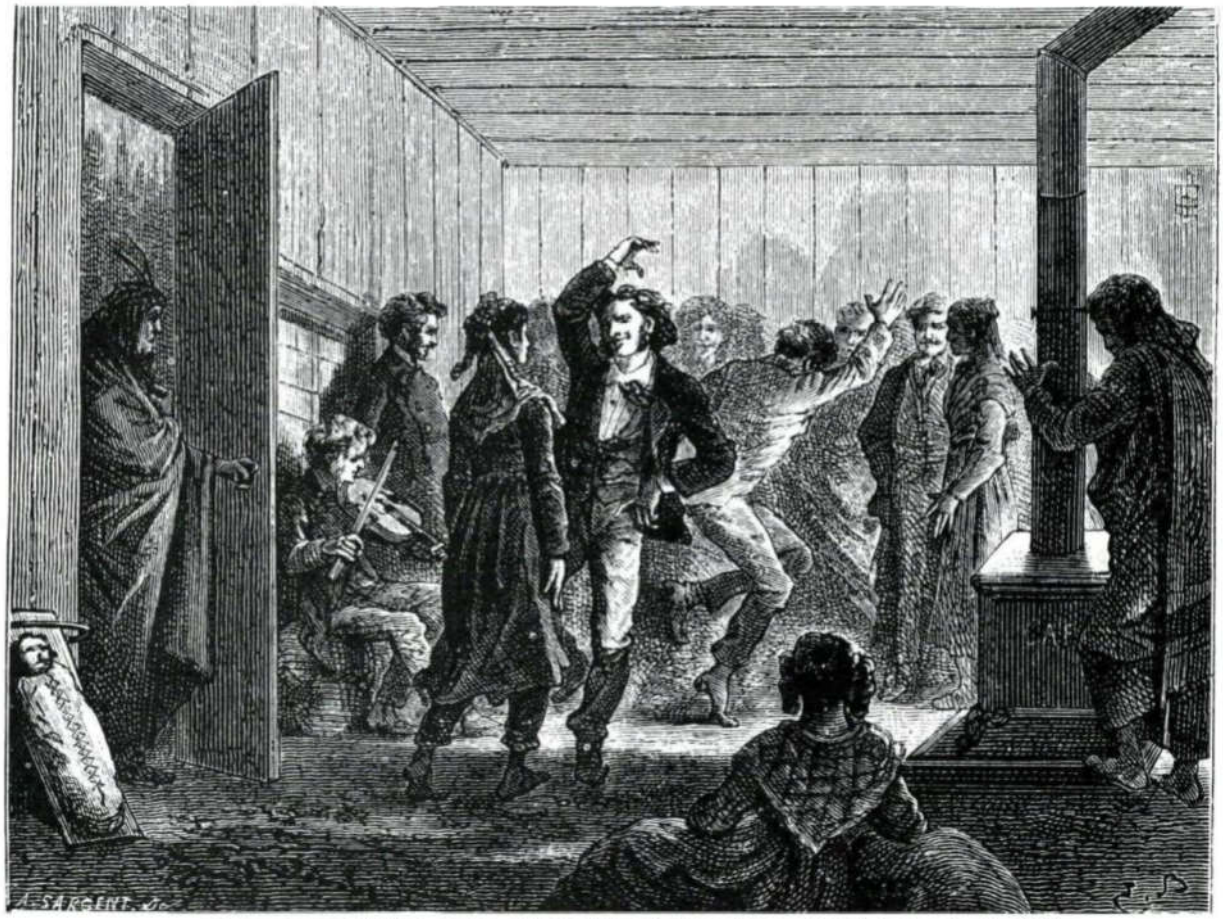
ROSEMARY GILLIAT

A Cree woman, handsome and dignified in her advanced years.

latter threatened Isbister's life. Yet there is evidence that Isbister himself was applying a double standard, as Rushworth comments: 'As for Mr Isbister Woman and young Girles I have no business With, as they are keeped out of the Factory'.

How would Indians, and especially Woudbee, have reacted to Isbister's behaviour? Woudbee, as we have seen, was treated as the chief captain among the Fort Albany Cree. He apparently considered himself an equal to the traders and thereby had the same rights as they did, an opinion reinforced by Spence's permissiveness. But suddenly his access to post privileges had been terminated, an act which would have demeaned his status in the eyes of the other Indians. Yet Indian women continued to be exploited by the very person who had curtailed what he perceived to be his rights — rights guaranteed by virtue of his senior status and by the reciprocal bond between traders and Indians involving the exchange of sexual and domestic rights to his women in return for free access to post amenities. It is little wonder then that he threatened Isbister's life after he was evicted from the post. But how do these events relate to the Henley House massacre?

In 1751 George Rushworth issued a book of instructions to William Lamb concerning the manner in which Henley was to be managed. The Company men were to be on guard at all times and should Indians arrive, the



The presence of Indian women enlivened the Christmas dance at York factory in the 1840s.

servants were to retreat to the post. Furthermore, Lamb was not 'to admit a bove one Inden into your House nor suffer them to lye in it'. But Lamb apparently ignored these instructions and as late as October 1754 (two months before the massacre) was warned by George Rushworth 'by No means to keep no Woman In the House' to which Lamb replied 'ye Governour keeps two favorite Will not you Alow me to keep One'. Rushworth concluded that it was impossible to prevent the servants from keeping women at the post so long as the governor himself ignored the rule. Thus, the double standard continued at both posts despite Rushworth's warning and the formal instructions against such practices.

Lamb came to take two favourite women, one of whom (Nam a Shis) had been given to Woudbee's son (Shenap), and the other was Woudbee's own daughter (Won a Wogen) and wife to another Indian (Annisset). These women Lamb kept inside the post all winter eating the food which the other Englishmen should have received. When Woudbee and his kin arrived at Henley in December, it will be recalled, Lamb allowed them all inside the post but the following day ordered them to build a tent for themselves on the plantation. It was this order which seems to have triggered the murders. The situation was a repeat of the one at Fort Albany after Isbister's return. The Indian women had been kept from the Indians all winter but now Woudbee and family were being expelled from the post. Once again Woudbee must have believed he was being demeaned and cheated. Thus, when Lamb foolishly dispersed the Company servants, the Indians took what they perceived was revenge for his behaviour.

In terms of economic theory, the more common relationship between Indians and fur traders involved the exchange of furs for trade goods and conforms to Sahlins' model of 'balanced reciprocity' – a willingness to give for that which is received. It was thus a type of social compact formalized at the trading post by speeches and pipe smoking. There were occasional instances where Indian captains offered their women to traders to cement the exchange relationship and create a sort of blood-brotherhood, as it were. Among the Cree themselves, according to the fur trader, Andrew Graham, this exchange of women created 'a reciprocal alliance and series of good offices . . . between the friends of both parties; each is ready to assist and protect the other'. Thus, the exchange of women involved morally sanctioned rights and obligations, not merely privileges. It is within this context that the behaviour of Woudbee must be interpreted. As Woudbee himself told the fur

traders, when partaking freely of post foods: 'the Victuals was for them as Well as for ye Englishmen, as they keeped there Woman; they had a Right to these Victuals'. Woudbee could only tolerate his women being taken so long as the reciprocal bond, in this case involving the exchange of women for access to post amenities, was continued. The exchange bore the political burden of reconciliation despite the jealousies it must have aroused.

That the traders held quite a different view of their relationship with Indians is evident from their actions. Either they did not care what Indians thought about the domestic and sexual exploitation of women so long as the trade did not suffer; or they interpreted the behaviour of Indian women as being devoid of morals and thus keeping them at the post was not really exploitation; or they did not understand that the Cree viewed the exchange of women for post rights as a social compact. That is the Western view, which distinguishes an amoral economic sphere from a moral social one, lacking among the Cree, may have blinded the traders to the morality of the exchange relationship perceived by the Cree. Perhaps all of these reasons were involved in Isbister's and Lamb's expulsion of Woudbee's family from the posts. From Woudbee's point of view, on one hand this act ran counter to proper Cree etiquette, while on the other it struck him squarely in what seems to have been a somewhat inflated ego. The reciprocity had been terminated, his family had been cheated, and he had been degraded in the eyes of other Indians. Even in captivity, Woudbee's hatred for the English is evident. He told George Rushworth that Isbister would be killed 'and that the Indians Was going to take York fort and that Woman Was to let them into the Factory'. Thus, women who usually connote solidarity in exchange relations were employed by Woudbee as the vehicle of destruction.

A balanced picture of the situation surrounding the murders and subsequent reprisals must consider the attitudes of other Indians also. Those who were dependent upon the trading post and who were grateful for post assistance in times of need would not have shared Woudbee's rancour. Some, as we have seen, blamed him for their own misfortunes. Certainly the upland Indians who had had their furs confiscated by Woudbee must have felt no remorse. Those who had witnessed privileged treatment while at the post may have thought him an ingrate, or perhaps they were even jealous of his position. Still others may have been reluctant to oppose the traders' opinion of Woudbee lest they be punished, and indeed, Woudbee's relatives did avoid the post for some time. Whatever the case may be Woudbee and his two sons were hanged on 21 June 1755. When word reached London, Joseph Isbister was removed from his post for having taken justice into his own hands. His superiors feared that the hangings would prevent the upland Indians from visiting the post and thereby diminish the trade.

Of all Indian women, the Cree, as this young mother at Albany, were considered by Alexander Mackenzie to be the 'most comely'.

Henley House was not re-established until 1759 but within a few weeks was attacked by about forty Indians. The manager was killed and the other servants fled at night on foot to Fort Albany. This time, however, Henley was destroyed not 'by too much freedom given on Account of the Indian Women, But Chiefly to get a Booty of Trading Goods'. The precedent set by the previous massacre demonstrated to the upland Indians that Henley House was not invincible despite its fortifications. The post was not re-settled again until 1766 due largely to a well-founded fear on the part of the Fort Albany servants of living inland. The degree to which the earlier events at Henley influenced the later reluctance on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to settle inland is unknown. For a short period, however, the Company enjoyed good fortune. In 1759, the same year as the second attack upon Henley, Quebec fell to the English thus ending French trade and hence the competition for furs. A more formalized reciprocity characterized the relationship between Indian captains and traders during this period which was again interrupted by the re-entry of the Nor'Westers during the late 1760s. Thereafter the relationship between traders and Indians degenerated as antagonisms and reprisals, often duplicating Woudbee's case, grew more frequent. ◆

PAC

Government House in New Westminster as it appeared in September 1870. A water-colour sketch by Lady Musgrave.

A Letter From New Westminster

ONLY A FEW WEEKS after his arrival in New Westminster in 1864, Arthur Nonus Birch, Colonial Secretary in the government of British Columbia, sat down to write to his brother John, a banker in the City of London. In his letter he tells of his first impressions of the then capital of the young colony. In recording his thoughts, twenty-seven-year-old Birch offers a fascinating glimpse of colonial life. The letter also reveals much about the character of the young administrator, who seemed to thrive under the full weight of public responsibility thrust upon him in the new setting.

A parson's son, Arthur Nonus Birch joined the London staff of the Colonial Office as a clerk in 1855, when he was eighteen years of age. He longed for adventure, and in 1862 was granted leave from his duties in Downing Street to visit North America. Birch made his way to the front lines of the American Civil War and managed to sample colonial life at first hand, joining the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Monk, and accompanying him on a viceregal tour of Upper Canada. Before returning to England, Birch also visited Lower Canada and the Maritimes.

Two years later, when Birch was offered another opportunity to lay aside London life and Whitehall bureaucracy, he readily accepted the post of Colonial Secretary, or second in command, in the government of British Columbia. He was called upon to administer the affairs of the colony for several months in 1865 while Governor Frederick Seymour was on leave in England. Birch returned to his duties with the Colonial Office in London in 1866.

In later years, Birch went on to hold high office in the administration of Ceylon and Malaya. He resigned from the colonial service in 1878 to accept a position with the Bank of England. He was knighted by Queen Victoria and in 1914 Sir Arthur N. Birch, K.C.M.G. died at the age of seventy-seven, only a year after his retirement from banking.

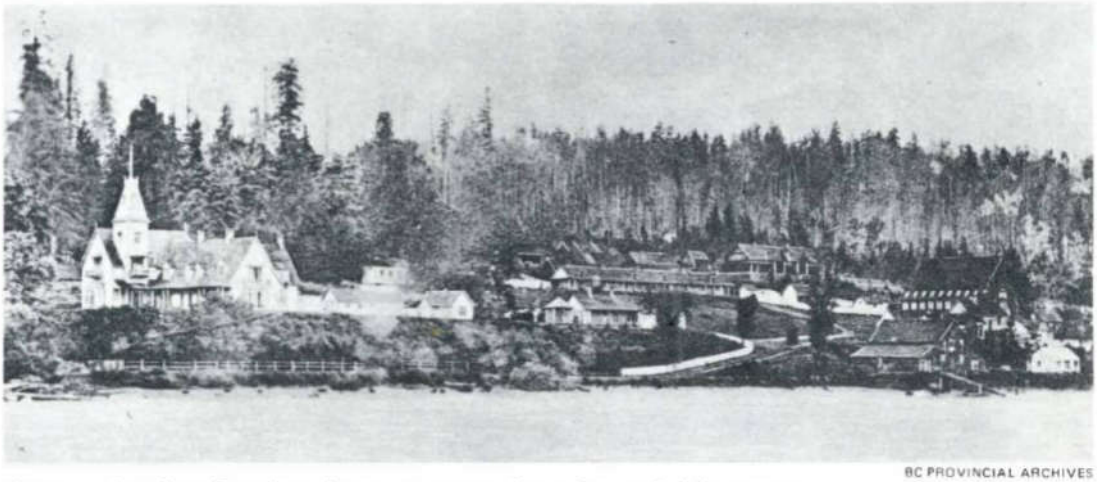
Gratefully acknowledgement is made to Sir Arthur Birch's grandsons, Sir John Pope-Hennessy and Simon Birch, for permission to publish this letter. Introduction by C. R. Maier, Extension Officer at Fort Steele Historic Park and a graduate in history, King's College, University of London.

New Westminster
7 May 1864

My dear John

I do believe that I shall be able to write you a long letter if I begin at once as the steamer has just arrived by which we find that we have missed the Mail from Vancouver to Frisco & there will be no other for 8 days.

I am really very hard worked & see no end at present to arrears. I have a very good set of Clerks in my office, all gentlemen & willing to work. I muster six, that is, 4 as Colonial Secretary, & 2 as Auditor, which latter I had no idea I was in for; and we now have a Revenue of £130,000 & spend a good deal more, and so not a penny can be spent until I have signed & approved the Requisition. My signature alone takes up ½ the morning. At present I begin work at ½ pst 7 a.m. with the Governor in his study – breakfast at ½ pst 9 – at my own office at ¼ pst 10 where I now remain till 5 p.m.; but up to 2 days ago I had to be in Chair at Legislative Council Chamber by 2 o'clock & kept there without moving until 7 p.m. I own to having funked this very much at first but I am very satisfied with the way I got through and I was not shy of calling Hon Members to "Order" and giving several very unpopular casting votes, but I always made a short Speech explaining my reason for so doing wh. I fancy was generally well taken. I found I was expected to give a Whitebait dinner at the close of the Session but I kept silent wishing to keep such popular entertainments & [until] I want popularity.



BC PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES

A view of Government House and the Legislative Council Chamber (far right). Birch's quarters were in the wooden house with the verandah overhanging the water.

I have got a very nice little Wooden Office & my room is charming now though I fear very cold in Winter. It is close onto the Fraser & the balcony & the verandah over hang the water. All the Indians are down now fishing and it is great fun to watch them spearing Sturgeon which here run to the enormous size of 500 & 600 lbs. The Indians drift down with the stream perhaps 30 canoes abreast with their long poles with spear attached kept within about a foot of the bottom of the River. When they feel a fish lying they raise the spear and thrust it at the fish seldom missing. The barb of the spear immediately disconnects from the pole but remains attached to a rope & you see sometimes 2 or 3 canoes being carried off at the same time down river at any pace by these huge fish.

My own sport has been at present very limited having only been out 2 evenings. Last night at 5 I went down to a small stream close by with my fly rod & by ½ pst 6 had caught 5 Trout of 3 lbs & 2 2lbs. On the other occasion I took a canoe from below my window & paddling with a rake had in about an hour over 600 Smelts in the bottom of the canoe. The rake is so about 8 ft. long. You sit right forward and use the Rake as a paddle bringing it behind you into the boat. Each stroke sometimes I would bring up 9 or 10 at a stroke – very large Smelts & delicious eating. It is great fun & I want to be at it again.

I fancy the shooting here is a myth but I have had no time to judge.

Everyone who calls on me is anxious to know when my wife "Lady Julia" and my little son are coming out! and all commence pitying her having to rough it so much – I don't know where they got their information but they are all so satisfied of the truth of the statement that they won't believe mine & even go so far as to ask after some of her relations!

We had a Ball in our town on Thursday last – there was not a single unmarried Lady present so I am in no danger here at any rate. All the Ladies are in an interesting condition with the exception of the Lady Mayoress who is a Grandmother but is Mad upon Waltzing & so are all the rest of the Ladies and it is not otherwise than dangerous or to say the least of it painful work.

We are over run with Mosquitoes & fleas; The weather is very bright and warm with sharp frosts at night, which keep back the garden. We can get no gardener so we have established a system of rivalry between the four, each having his row of beet, carrots, onions, lettuce &c &c, and as we have no rake or hoe we find the weeds very troublesome. My seeds that Julia [wife of his brother, John] gave me are progressing & I take great care of them.

I have just received a Resolution of the Volunteers unanimously electing me as their Captain Commanding but I have written expressing my sense of the honour & requested that I may be allowed to appear as their Lieut, promoting the present one who is an old officer to the superior rank – I shall soon be puzzled to know my numerous titles.

I am going to take a run up river by Friday's boat returning on Monday to have a look at the towns of Hope & Yale. I think Seymour will probably go with me.

BC PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES

In this photograph of the Volunteer Corp, Arthur Birch stands in uniform at the extreme left. Governor Frederick Seymour is mounted on horseback.

Don't advise anyone to come out here on speculation as we are over run with decayed gentlemen – the boots at the Hotel is the son of a Dr. in Harley Street and has met me in "Society". Clifford, the son of a Clergyman in Somersetshire, is chopping wood for the Public Offices, half the stokers on the River Steamers are decayed Gentlemen & the numerous lawyers about the place are all Captains or Majors – and on the other hand we have a Tailor from Montreal & a Lumberman from up country our richest Members of Council.

I hope you have written me a full acount of your travels. Do keep Julia up to writing to me, very often I don't care how stupid the letters are tell her. Seymour is very lucky in his servants having a capital cook. We are very religious in our regulations having passed a Law for white ties every day at dinner, Holmes appearing in Uniform. This is one of the only ways of keeping up civilization in a place like this. Have you any money to spare if so send me some I can allow you 10 p.c. & first rate security. I wish I had brought some wait [weight] with me as when I set up House I expect to be ruined right away. Give my best love to all & Julia.

Ever Yours
A.N.B.

Quangwak at the Winnipeg Zoo in the summer of 1920. The author stands at the left.

The Quangwak Affair

By W. O. Douglas

PART TWO

In 1919 Sergeant W. O. Douglas of the RCMP arrested Quangwak at Yathkyed Lake for murdering two brothers and taking one of their wives. He brought his prisoner out to Dauphin, Manitoba, to await trial and continued on to Ottawa to report to the Commissioner.

AFTER CONCLUDING MY DUTIES in Winnipeg I reported to Ottawa. I had not been there long when word reached me that Quangwak was unhappy in the Dauphin Gaol. When I returned to investigate, I found that the guards had cut off the prisoner's hair, a thing seldom or ever done by the Eskimos in those days, and they were making him bathe in cold water to which they added ice cubes. They explained that, since he had come from the land of ice and snow, he would appreciate this.

I got in touch with Ottawa and obtained authority to have the prisoner moved to the police barracks in Winnipeg, where he was much happier.

On my return to Ottawa I was interviewed by Commissioner Bowen Perry, a respected and understanding man. He had reviewed my report and informed me that it had been decided that work on the Quangwak case was to be suspended. The prisoner was to be returned to the Chesterfield area to stand trial in the summer of 1921 when the Hudson's Bay Company supply ship *Nascopie* would bring in a judge to try the case. I was to escort the prisoner from Winnipeg to Ottawa where he would be held until the time of the ship's departure from Montreal; I was then to travel north with him to Chesterfield.

To assist in preparing the case for the judge's arrival, an inspector who had the powers of a justice of the peace and a coroner (which I, as a non-commissioned officer, did not have) would accompany me to Chesterfield. There I was to build a new

Sergeant Douglas and his prisoner spent an uncomfortable winter with 'the Inspector' in the Catholic mission at Chesterfield Inlet.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment and take charge of it. The selection of the officer was to be made by Assistant Commissioner Cortland Starnes. Since commissioned officers with arctic experience were at a premium, and could not be spared from other duties for a year, a recently appointed officer was chosen.

In mid-July 1920 we boarded the *Nascopie* at Montreal and sailed north. By the time the ship had arrived at Chesterfield weather conditions had deteriorated to such an extent that discharging the cargo was extremely difficult. Our material for the building of the detachment was unloaded in poor condition, wet and frozen; all plans for construction that fall had to be forgotten.

Fortunately, the Roman Catholic missionary at Chesterfield Inlet, Father A. Turquetil, O.M.I. was going out of the North for a year and intended to close the mission. I arranged with him to rent the building for the winter. The only condition imposed by the missionary was that the steel cell which I had brought in as a safeguard against Quangwak's possible escape during the night, was not to be installed. I understood his point of view and readily agreed; we would have to find another way of looking after the prisoner during the night.

Quarters in the mission building proved to be cramped for six men. The Inspector had a room to himself off the kitchen. The only other room on the ground floor was the chapel where the altar was concealed behind a series of hinged, swinging doors. I and the other members of the detachment slept upstairs and the prisoner occupied a mattress on the floor beside the cot of one of the constables. This was the best arrangement I could make under the circumstances.

As time went on it became apparent that the Inspector, who had been chosen to act as coroner and justice of the peace, was not the man for the job. He began to develop an unreasonable hatred for the North, its people and Quangwak. He resented my humane treatment of the prisoner, and made no secret of the fact that he believed Quangwak would be hanged when his trial was over. This story was relayed to Quangwak and, of course, was disturbing to him.

When I had arrested Quangwak I took him from a camp where many of the people had not yet seen a white man. I had no revolver, handcuffs, or leg-irons, but I had not had the slightest bit of trouble with the prisoner from the day we left Yathkyed Lake until our return to Chesterfield. We had travelled eight thousand miles together with a feeling of trust between us. Even after our return to Chesterfield, Quangwak never gave me cause to take extraordinary precautions against his possible escape.

It was therefore a surprise when the Inspector asked me if I had leg-irons and handcuffs. I told him that we had both packed away with the supplies. He then demanded a set of each. I knew what his intentions were, and they were not to my liking, so I put off locating the restraints. A few days later the Inspector ordered me to bring him the leg-irons and handcuffs. When I turned them over, the Inspector ordered me to put Quangwak in irons. I refused. He slapped the cuffs and irons on the prisoner himself, putting the chain of the handcuffs under the chain of the leg-irons so that Quangwak was doubled over. He flung the keys at my feet and told me to leave him in the restraints for half an hour 'to let him see what he can expect if he does not behave himself'.

Since the Inspector, as coroner, would have to visit the scene of the crime and view the bodies of the murdered men, I suggested that we travel in the spring when conditions would be more tolerable. He insisted however that we make the trip as soon as possible; accordingly I began to organize the expedition. I secured the best skins available, and hired skilled seamstresses to make a travelling outfit for him. In those days we always dressed completely in deerskin clothing with the hair of the inner shirt next to the body, and an outside coat worn with the hair to the outside. These garments, with skin stockings, short bell-shaped skin trousers, footwear and deerskin mitts made an extremely warm outfit.

Since the Inspector had had no experience with arctic winter travel I tried to persuade him to take a trial run for a night with the Eskimo guide. This he refused to do. The time came for our departure and with fresh dogs we made excellent time on the first day out. At noon we had tea from our thermos and ate dried meat, a great favourite with the Eskimos. One of the guides handed a piece of dried meat to the Inspector; he threw it to one of the dogs, but accepted a chocolate bar from me. We camped early that day, built a large comfortable snow-house, had a good supper and turned in.

The next morning we rose early and got the primus stoves going for breakfast. When the food was ready I called the Inspector. He had not spoken a word but I knew he was awake. He wanted coffee, he said, and added that he had been shivering with cold all night and unable to sleep. This I found hard to believe, for he had been snoring loudly. However, he roused himself, drank a large mug of coffee and ate a few rashers of bacon and a good-sized piece of pan bread.

The weather was clear, but much colder than it had been the previous day. When we stopped at noon it was apparent that the Inspector was unhappy. His nose was slightly frozen and he was constantly withdrawing his hand from his mitt to warm his nose with the result that he was cold all over. The guide with whom the Inspector was travelling told him to draw the string of his hood tight and sit on the sled with his back to the wind. This he refused to do. He then got both his nose and his hand frostbitten, not badly, but enough to cause him some discomfort. We all hoped that after another night in a comfortable snow-house he would feel better and be ready to accept our advice. Our hopes were shattered.

With breakfast over, we were packing to go on our way when the Inspector announced that he had decided to cancel the trip and return to Chesterfield. He was adamant; he said the government did not have enough money to pay him for making this trip. Nothing I could say would change his mind. I made a cache of everything surplus to our requirements so that we could travel light and return to Chesterfield in one day. The dogs knew they were homeward bound and did not need any encouragement to travel.

We arrived back at Chesterfield around ten o'clock that night. I was glad to turn in, but then lay awake for most of the night wondering what I was to do to put in the time under conditions as they existed. Other than short patrols to keep the dogs in shape, and hauling lumber from the beach to the new building site, there was little activity. The winter mail packet went and on its return we received word that a judge had been appointed and that we must select a jury. Then I reminded the Inspector that if he intended to examine the bodies it was time to be thinking about it and deciding on the date for our departure.

We left at the end of March, again with a splendid outfit in every way. I had made arrangements for dog food, an important item which decreed the success or failure of any long trip, to be cached at the

An overnight camp on the trail. Photographs are from the Douglas collection.

The scene at the graveside. The two rifles in the foreground belonged to the murdered men, and were buried with them.

Hudson's Bay Company post, and with the Lampson-Hubbard Company trader at the entrance to Baker Lake. Every day on the trip the Inspector had complaints; probably his most aggravating habit was shaving every morning, using the frying pan to do so.

We arrived at the place where the murdered men were buried on a blustery day in early April. I did not expect any help from the Eskimos in exhuming the bodies (this I knew they would not do) but I did expect the Inspector to give some physical assistance. I cut down through several feet of snow, uncovered the bodies, and cleared a space large enough for him to view them. He sat on the sled, smoked a cigarette, and made notes. I was ordered to move the frozen limbs from time to time so that he could complete his examination. One of the guides recorded the proceedings with my camera, but because of the storm was unable to take a good clear picture. That day is fixed in my mind. It was my birthday, 9 April 1921, the most miserable day I have ever had or am ever likely to have.

The trip home was uneventful. We had excellent travelling weather and pulled into the settlement quite late at night. I had a meal, turned in, and was soon fast asleep. In a few minutes I was awakened by one of the constables. Quangwak was nowhere to be found. We searched the building thoroughly, and the constables went around to the snow-houses in the settlement in case the prisoner was paying a visit to one or another of his friends. They found no sign of him.

At the end of our trip we had left all the travelling gear in an outer porch for the night. Our equipment looked much strewn about and on closer examination we found that a sleeping bag, grub box, ammunition, and several other things were missing. Then we found that a light frame Yukon-type sled shod with whalebone, was also gone. There was little doubt in our minds that Quangwak had escaped.

I reported the disappearance to the Inspector, my travelling partner of yesterday. 'Why wake me? It is your business, go and get him. I am not going. Perhaps you forgot to put the leg-irons on.'

While we had a hurried breakfast the guides harnessed up our dogs and prepared for the chase. They soon found Quangwak's tracks heading west across a nearby lake. I gave each man a rifle and ammunition for there was bound to be a shoot-out if we managed to overtake the prisoner. We followed the trail for most of the day, running alongside the sled as much as we could to lighten the load and speed our progress. When it became dark, we built a snow-house, had a good meal, and pooled our ideas. We were not equipped for a long chase and, if we failed to find caribou, our problem would be dog food.

The next morning a full blizzard was blowing. It lasted two days. On the third morning we cut our way through the dome of our snow-house. Outside everything, including the sleeping dogs, was covered with heavy snow. We dug out our sled, called to the dogs and then cleared our way down to the door of the snow-house for our gear.

During the days we had been held up by the weather I had considered our next move. I asked my guides what their thoughts were. They replied in the jargon we had developed for communication.

'We don't know. What do you think? Tracks all gone now, no see any more, long time dogs no eat, maybe catch deer everything good, no shoot deer maybe have plenty hard trip.' I was inclined to agree. My young constable said he would support me in whatever decision I made.

After much thought, I decided that we should return. We knew that Quangwak had a rifle and ammunition and he would not be taken without putting up a fight. I felt I did not have the right to ask my guides, who had families and were not sworn-in constables, to take the chance of being shot, or of having to shoot and possibly kill in self-defence. With the constable and me the situation was different; it was our duty to apprehend an escaped prisoner if possible.

Another factor in the situation was the urgency to send a mail packet south with news of the escape. The judge's party was scheduled to sail north on the supply ship in mid-July. As I saw the situation now the chances were not good that Quangwak would be on hand to meet them.

On our return to Chesterfield I was fortunate in employing two completely reliable carriers to take the packet south to Churchill. I promised them that I would send a boat down the coast if they did not manage to get back before the ice went out. As it was they made a splendid trip and were home just before break-up.

The flagpole is raised at the new detachment erected by W. O. Douglas at Chesterfield Inlet.

In the meantime I sent a message to Harry Ford, the post manager at Baker Lake, to spread the word that any Eskimo supplying information as to the whereabouts of Quangwak would be well rewarded. This idea produced results. When Ford came to Chesterfield with his furs to meet the *Nascopie* he brought word from Eejoogajook that one of his men while out deer hunting had found a body that he was sure was Quangwak's. I did not consider that a trip by boat and on foot inland was necessary at this time. I sent word back to Eejoogajook that a police patrol would visit his camp early in the winter and requested that he act as guide to the location.

Later that year Eejoogajook took me to where the body of the Eskimo had been found. It was covered by a light frame sled which I recognized as the one the prisoner had used to make his escape. There were other articles scattered around — clearly some of the equipment Quangwak had taken on the night of his escape.

I cleared the snow from the area and examined the remains. From the hips down the body was intact, but animals had devoured the upper part. The Eskimos with me felt that there was no doubt that the body was that of Quangwak, and this was also my opinion. We buried the remains and returned to Eejoogajook's camp at Yathkyed Lake. On the day following we departed for Chesterfield Inlet.

I wrote my report while all the details were fresh in my mind. As far as I was concerned the Quangwak case was closed, but I was constantly reminded of it by the Inspector. He took the position that I alone was responsible for the prisoner's escape. In my opinion, the incident of the handcuffs and leg-irons, and the rumours spread about his probable hanging were much to blame for Quangwak's escape and subsequent death.

My record with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was good. I was the youngest sergeant in the force and high on the seniority list for promotion. But the Inspector suggested that I would now have to face a court martial. The situation reached a climax one meal-time. The Inspector again brought up the case and repeated his accusations. I jumped from my chair, brandished it over his head and told him that I was sick and tired of his attitude. In doing so I committed the unpardonable sin of threatening an officer.

Until the *Nascopie* came in, there was nothing left for me to do but to get on with the building of the detachment. We finished the work and even erected a fine flagpole. When the ship arrived, I was approached by the master of the *Nascopie* and the Hudson's Bay Company secretary from London who was on board the ship, and offered a position which would entail arctic travel and exploration work for the Company. I said that I would be pleased to consider the offer when I was free to do so. At the time I was a member of the force and I had yet to face the Commissioner over a lapse of discipline.

On my arrival in Ottawa I was called before Commissioner Starnes. I faced him across his desk fully expecting to be disciplined, to face trial before officers, and serve a stated period in custody. I learned later, however, that the evidence against me was verbal. A report had not been filed.

I offered to hand in my resignation but the Commissioner said this would not be accepted. I could be released only by a special Order-in-Council. He suggested that I leave matters in his hands. Soon I was informed that the order had gone through and that I had been granted an honourable discharge. I turned in my gear, drew the money owing to me, and sailed for England, my career with the force over.

In later years, when I was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, I felt vindicated when I received two offers of re-instatement with the force. These I refused. ◆

NORTHERN BOOKS

PEOPLE FROM OUR SIDE

By Peter Pitseolak, oral biography by Dorothy Eber. Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton, 1976. 159 pp., illus. Soft/hard cover $8.95/$12.50.

Reviewed by Frederica Knight

Peter Pitseolak's reminiscences translated from his handwritten account, amplified by taped oral interviews, and illustrated by his photographs, are a lively presentation of Eskimo life from the early years of this century. He has included stories that were told to him about happenings prior to his birth.

During the period of time that this book spans, extensive changes took place in the lifestyle and environment of the Inuit. Pitseolak's summary at the end of the book echoes the sentiments of his generation and of the following generation, about the changes that have taken place, for better or for worse.

Peter Pitseolak of Cape Dorset was a remarkably complex individual, with a many-faceted personality, many talents, virtues, and faults. He had a strong awareness of his own place in the history of his land and people. The recording of his experiences and philosophy was an excellent idea. It is regrettable that he died before he could see the results of the undertaking in print. I feel strongly that this book should be reprinted in the Eskimo language. There is little in print for the Inuit who read only syllabics, and his story would be a nostalgic trip for them.

The author had a prodigious memory for people, places, and events; he tells us much about the intricate family relationships of the Inuit, of some of the pre-Christian religious beliefs, and of the confusion caused by the introduction of Christianity. He describes the traditional life with its nomadic patterns and comments on the increase in numbers and influence of the European-Canadians over the years. He was a subjective observer; his descriptions of people and events were highly personal, and we learn much about the man as we read his reminiscences. It is easy to understand that his influence and presence would be strongly felt by anyone who lived in Cape Dorset during his lifetime there.

The photographs, taken and developed by the author, are excellent, and it is hoped that the collection is being carefully preserved for posterity, for it must be unique in this country. There is an error in the caption on page 26; Kavavow, who left Cape Dorset for points north and ended his days in Spence Bay, was not Pitseolak's brother; according to my information, he was married to Pitseolak's sister, Annie. The picture on page 26 is of Pitseolak's younger half-brother who moved to Frobisher Bay in the 1950s and died there some years ago.

Dorothy Eber, in her introduction, translates *Inuit* as 'the only people'. I believe Gontran de Poncins was the first man to give the meaning of 'Man pre-eminent' to the word, but from having heard it in use by the Inuit themselves over many years, I firmly believe that the meaning is simply 'people' – human beings, as opposed to other living creatures. When men of different appearance first came to the Arctic the Inuit, realizing they were not the only people, created descriptive names for the new-comers for purposes of identification. For people in the general sense, and for such things as chessmen, the word Inuit (or Inuk in the singular) is used.

The translation has retained the style of Pitseolak's writing. Some readers may find the naming of numbers of individuals when recounting an event makes the pace slow, but perseverance is well rewarded.

Peter Pitseolak's life was such that a number of people could have written a book about him. Dorothy Eber decided to do so and must be congratulated on having acted in time to include his own recorded comments. His story is an important document in the record of a culture that is inevitably and quickly fading into history.

Mrs Knight lived in the Arctic for twenty years. She knew Pitseolak, his family and friends.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FIRST 200 YEARS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

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CAMERA IN THE INTERIOR: 1858

H. L. Hime, Photographer. The Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. By Richard J. Huyda. The Coach House Press, Toronto, 1975. 55 pp., illus. $14.50.

Reviewed by Sheilagh S. Jameson

This book features reproductions of photographer H. L. Hime's 1858 works with accompanying informative text and includes a description of the processes involved in landscape photography during the 1850s. Richard Huyda, an expert in the photographic field and Chief Curator of the National Photography Collection of the Public Archives of Canada, is eminently qualified to produce such a study.

The portfolio of Hime's photographs forms Part I of the book and is its highlight. Generally credited as being the first photographs taken in the Canadian West they were produced by Humphrey

'Mr Hinckster's [Inkster] house and farm buildings, September-October 1859.'

Lloyd Hime on a government-sponsored exploratory trip known as the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, 1858. Henry Youle Hind, director of the expedition, is thought to have been the originator of the idea of having a photographic record made to illustrate written reports. He engaged Humphrey Lloyd Hime for this work, the selection no doubt based upon Hime's reputation as a rising young photographer with the Toronto firm of Armstrong, Beere and Hime, Civil Engineers Draughtsmen and Photographists, and the fact that he was a surveyor. His responsibilities on the expedition were dual, but he was in fact the first official photographer to serve on a Canadian expedition. The forty-nine pictures he took, prefaced by a dated listing, form the portfolio. The quality and tone of the paper and the type of photographic reproduction, micrograin duotone, give the plates an aesthetically attractive and appropriate 'old photo' appearance.

The nine chapters in Part II tell the story of the expedition with emphasis on Hime's participation in it. The text is well documented; the main sources used are Hind's reports of the expedition and relevant correspondence contained in the Public Archives. The author gives the location where the various pictures were taken; his comments on the conditions as related to photography and the reasons for the resultant quality of various views add materially to the interest of the book. A reader might wish that the numbers of specific photographs had been inserted at the point of the description of their origin or that the small reproductions on the left side of the pages, a most attractive addition, were captioned. However, it is not difficult to check dates and synchronize photos with text. An interesting map of the expedition is attached.

The third part of the book, Landscape Photography in the 1850s, does not relate specifically to Hime but describes the type of photography he undertook and the problems he must have encountered. Although it contains technical information concerning cameras, chemicals and the photographic processes of the time, it is written in a clear and readable style so even the lay person with a passing interest in photography should find it of interest.

Camera in the Interior presents to the reader a delightful picture of Hime the photographer shown against the background of his time. This reviewer would have liked to have seen Hime the man emerge more clearly but this is a relatively minor point. Richard Huyda has presented in a most attractive form a collection of historical photographs, little known beyond the field of history. He has included the information which accords them their position as significant historical records and finally, by supplying the details of photographic methodology of the time, he has provided for a better understanding of Hime's work.

Sheilagh S. Jameson is Chief Archivist, Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

AMOR DE COSMOS
Journalist and Reformer

By George Woodcock. Canadian Lives, illustrated paper back series from Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1975. 177 pp. $5.95.

Reviewed by A. J. Arnold

The prolific George Woodcock produced two biographies of important Canadian historical figures during 1975. The first of these was on Amor De Cosmos, who, as Woodcock correctly points out, 'was more responsible than any other single man for the fact that Canada, with the acquisition of British Columbia, eventually did stretch from ocean even unto ocean'. Apparently there are history students still searching for the 'Father of Confederation' for British Columbia. Why not bestow that title on De Cosmos who was certainly the first and most serious advocate of Confederation for the Pacific colonies?

In this pocket-size book Woodcock presents a broadly comprehensive picture of the Nova Scotia-born William Alexander Smith, who grew up to become an admirer of Joseph Howe, and later, in California, changed his name to Amor De Cosmos. Arriving in Victoria during the 1858 gold rush, De Cosmos founded the *British Colonist*, and became an outspoken critic of Governor James Douglas from the very first issue. He entered the Vancouver Island Assembly as the acknowledged reform leader in 1863 – after two contrived defeats. From then on he

served almost continuously in public office until 1882. In 1871 he was elected to the House of Commons and in 1872 he became the second Premier of British Columbia. When the practice of holding dual office was abolished De Cosmos resigned as Premier and MLA to retain his seat in Ottawa.

While Woodcock is largely correct in what he writes about De Cosmos and the historic period of Canadian nation-making in which he lived, there are nevertheless a few noteworthy short-comings.

The successful 1860 effort to keep De Cosmos from a seat in the Vancouver Island Assembly is explained in some detail. This involved the granting of the franchise to a group of Negro immigrants from the United States, who voted for the government candidates in gratitude for being allowed to settle in the colony. Amor De Cosmos challenged the election result, but he was rebuffed by the Governor and the majority in the Assembly. A year later the Negroes were removed from the voters' list when a court of revision ruled that they were not British subjects after all.

What Woodcock fails to tell us is that De Cosmos had begun calling for a proper naturalization act to include voting rights several months before the election. Following the 1861 court of revision, Attorney General George Hunter Carey, who had masterminded the plan to keep the *Colonist* editor out of the Assembly, now promised, at a public meeting, to introduce an 'Alien Bill' that would give aliens 'nearly every privilege'. Some of the Negroes whose support he had fraudulently obtained in 1860, now challenged him for what he had done.

The next evening the opposition called a public meeting to discuss Carey's actions and establish a Reform Association. Amor De Cosmos was the principal speaker. While the on-going role of this association is not definitely established, the fact that such an organization was attempted raises a question about Woodcock's conclusion that during this period De Cosmos was 'hardly even the leader of a faction'. In fact as early as 1860 De Cosmos himself spoke of being part of the 'Liberal Party' in a *Colonist* editorial. While political parties were a long way from formal establishment, his electoral success in 1863 surely resulted from the organized efforts begun two years earlier.

It is necessary to comment on one of Woodcock's sources, Matthew Macfie's *Vancouver Island and British Columbia* (London 1865), which he considers 'a good first-hand account of gold-rush Victoria', the period when de Cosmos arrived. Macfie did not reach Victoria until September 1859, at least a year after the gold-rush fever had subsided. On reading Woodcock's quotations from Macfie's description of Victoria, it became apparent to me that Macfie was paraphrasing, if not actually plagiarizing, the work of Alfred Waddington, author of *Fraser River Mines Vindicated* (Victoria, 1858). Waddington arrived in Victoria several months before the gold-rush began in the spring of 1858 and his is the true first-hand account. Macfie acknowledges Waddington as the source of some of his statements, though not for the ones quoted by Woodcock.

Writing about the conditions caused by the sudden population influx in Victoria, Macfie says: 'Twice the bakers were short of bread, which had to be replaced with ship biscuit and soda crackers.' Alfred Waddington says: '... the bakers were twice short of bread, and we were obliged to replace it, first by pilot bread and afterwards with soda crackers.' Other examples of the similarity between the Macfie and Waddington texts could be added but one must suffice.

Although Woodcock shows considerable understanding of De Cosmos's unique role as well as his personality, he appears to minimize unduly his contribution as Premier. Describing De Cosmos's action in ending the participation of the Lieutenant-Governor in Cabinet meetings, a step considered essential to the achievement of responsible government, the author says it was 'a small incident' which was his 'one important achievement'.

Woodcock's biography may be as close as it is possible to get to the real Amor De Cosmos, whose eccentricities have tended to overshadow his political achievements.

Mr Arnold's paper on Amor De Cosmos was published in 'Transactions of the Manitoba Historical Society'. He is co-author, with artist William Kurelek of 'Jewish Life in Canada', published by Hurtig of Edmonton.

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TRADING FOR MILADY'S FURS
In the service of the Hudson's Bay Company 1923-1943

By Jack Milne, Western Producer Prairie Books, Saskatoon, 1975, 235 pp., $9.95.

Reviewed by Dudley Copland

Jack Milne's book, prepared from a manuscript held by his

widow for twenty-two years, reaches back to the early 1920s. In his introduction, Tom Court, Provincial Supervisor of Restoration of the Museum and Archives of Alberta, expresses the hope that this book will add much to the scant historical documentation of the lives of fur traders during this period.

Jack Milne leaves nothing out of his story. Every detail of his travels is recorded with a pleasant dash of 'wry' Scottish humour. He was posted to the rugged country of Athabasca, to Wabasca, some eighty miles from the railway, and then to Long Lake Outpost, which he thought was 'lonely, desolate, and set in the midst of nowhere'. The journey to this desolate outpost was made on horseback, a trying ordeal for a young man who had never been astride a horse. Living conditions at the outpost were crude; a stove with burned-out grates in a leaking log cabin, a table made from packing cases, boxes and wooden blocks for chairs, no beds, and lard pails for cooking utensils.

But there were compensations. The experience gained at Long Lake, in travel, bush living and the rough-life style, was invaluable in later years. Back at Wabasca again, he soon forgot outpost life and enjoyed the comfortable quarters and regular, well-prepared meals. At the end of his second year in the country he was transferred to Fort St John, and then to Fort Nelson as assistant manager.

At Fort Nelson the freight was hauled by a dog-team when the rivers could not be used. For two and a half months Jack Milne did nothing else, making the 160-mile trip between Nelson and Fontas every week. In the spring he drifted down the Fort Nelson River with a scow to trade with Indians at a location where he later built Nelson Forks with his own hands. The story of this fort and of how Jack Milne outwitted the free-traders, makes interesting reading.

On his first holiday to Scotland, he married. The Milnes had four happy years at Fort Simpson where, under his capable management, the Company's trade and prestige were restored. In 1934 Jack Milne was appointed Inspector with headquarters at Fort Smith. This was a trying year for his wife who seldom saw her husband. An absence of up to six months was not uncommon for a few of the District Managers.

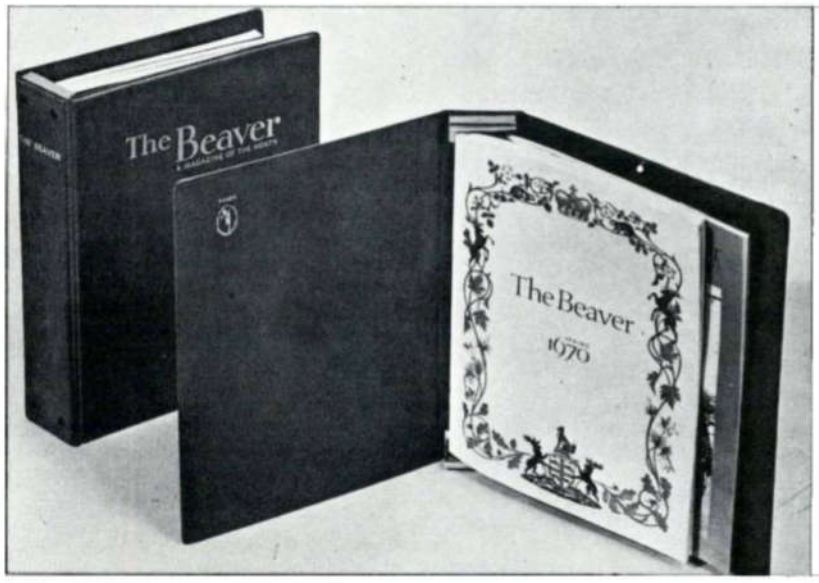
On their return from a second holiday in Scotland, Jack Milne was appointed District Manager of British Columbia with headquarters in Edmonton. Soon Athabasca District was added to his responsibilities and Jack Milne found himself looking after 35 posts and 6 outposts. With the advent of air travel, his inspection became less arduous and the opening of the Alaska Highway solved many of the problems he had struggled with for almost twenty years.

But he was becoming unhappy. He visualized himself flying around the British Columbia mountains until retirement age and seriously thought of going into business in some quiet northern town. Finally, in 1943 Jack Milne resigned from Company service. The story of his remaining years until his death in 1965 is told in the Editor's postscript.

Jack Milne's manuscript, probably written in retrospect after his retirement, is packed with details of every phase of fur-trade life. Credit is due to Mrs Milne, to editor Tom Court, and to the publishers, for making available this account of a way of life few readers would know or understand.

The narrative flows easily and makes enjoyable reading. The omission of some names is a thoughtful gesture which may be appreciated by living relatives. Chief Trader Jack Milne never expressed bitterness, though there were occasions when this would have been justified.

A veteran of the fur-trade era, Mr Copland joined the Company the same year as Jack Milne and knew him well. Mr Copland is author of 'Livingstone of the Arctic' and 'Ookpik, the Ogling Arctic Owl'.



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AS LONG AS THIS LAND SHALL LAST

By René Fumoleau, OMI. McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, 1975. 415 pages, illus. $5.95.

Reviewed by Richard Finnie

An Oblate priest residing in Yellowknife, René Fumoleau has produced a valuable history of two northern Canadian Indian treaties, painstakingly researched and documented. Financial support for it came from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and it has been edited by Jacqueline Weitz, Ph.D.

Again and again throughout the book such phrases as 'as long as this land shall last' and 'as long as the Great River flows' are attributed to treaty agents and echoed by Indians, or vice versa, as applying to and guaranteeing the Indians' everlasting freedom to roam their land and hunt, fish and trap as before, but living in harmony with their white friends.

These picturesque figures of speech were apparently used orally for dramatic emphasis, but they do not occur in the texts. Counched in Victorian legal jargon, the northern treaty documents were designed to extinguish the Indians' rights to their ancestral territory and restrict their use of it to accommodate incoming whites.

The two treaties imposed on northern Canadian Indians close to and beyond the 60th parallel of latitude (excluding Eskimos and Yukon Indians) were prompted by two waves of north-bound whites, separated by some twenty years.

The first treaty, No. 8, 1899 and 1900, took in northern Alberta, northwestern Saskatchewan and the southerly fringe of the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories. It was brought about by the Klondike gold rush in 1897-98, when some hundreds of fortune-seekers chose the Mackenzie River route to the diggings near Dawson City. Few reached their goal. Many remained for a time along the Mackenzie Valley to prospect, hunt and trap.

The second treaty, No. 11, 1921 and 1922, embracing the most of the Mackenzie District frequented by Indians, resulted from the striking of oil in 1920 about fifty miles downstream from the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Fort Norman. Hundreds of opportunists flocked into the country to stake claims. All of the promising claims were soon bought up by the Imperial Oil subsidiary which made the initial discovery. Many of the new comers stayed to prospect, trade or trap.

The treaty documents, patterned after those issued earlier for southerly tribes, were prepared in Ottawa by civil servants who had little knowledge of the northern Indians. Negotiations with the different tribes or bands were entrusted to agents of the Department of Indian Affairs. Chiefs were expected to sign the documents; but the northern Indians had no official chiefs, so chiefs had to be elected or appointed.

In language that neither the new chiefs nor their tribesmen fully understood, the treaty terms were baited with small gifts and the promise that, with larger sums to the chiefs and councillors, every man, woman and child would be paid in perpetuity $5.00 per year – an amount which has never changed, though various benefits were added in later years. The Indians had a choice: to lose their land with a treaty or lose it without one. Unlettered, they signed with an "X", or someone did it for them. The Métis could either take treaty or accept a once-only payment of $240.00. How well the Indians grasped the meaning of the word 'treaty' is shown by the way it was translated into their several dialects: 'giving money out'.

Father Fumoleau unfolds the story of the treaties and their results mainly with excerpts from old letters, memorandums, newspaper and magazine articles, books and interviews. Interspersed are his own summaries and explanations, some of which are confusing.

He states, for example: 'The Federal Government transferred administration of the Mackenzie District to a territorial government, known as the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, established in 1921.' This is repeatedly referred to as the 'Territorial Government' (sometimes with capitals) as though it were a separate entity akin to the territorial governments of today, distinct from the federal government. In reality, it was a branch of the Department of the Interior and it was created to centralize certain federal administrative functions, such as mining and game regulations. Its jurisdiction extended – as its name indicated – throughout the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, not just the Mackenzie District.

Officials of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch (notably O. S. Finnie, my father, who was its director until his retirement at the end of 1931) appear in the book to be unsympathetic or indifferent to the problems of the Indians. In fact, they were neither. They tried to deal fairly with all of the people of the North, among whom were different and often conflicting goals and attitudes. They were dedicated to orderly development of natural resources and conservation of wildlife. But overall responsibility for the Indians rested with the Department of Indian Affairs.

I was able to read the book with special appreciation, having been well acquainted with many of its principal characters. Among them was an outstanding spokesman for the northern Indians, Bishop Gabriel Breynat, who spent half a century among them. He was a witness to both Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, which were accepted by the Indians largely because of their confidence in him. He remembered promises made to them in speeches as well as on paper, and waged a campaign on their behalf during the rest of his active life.

Other spokesmen quoted in the book included Ralph Parsons and Philip Godsell of the HBC; J. K. (Peace River Jim) Cornwall, northern trader and promoter; T. W. (Flynn) Harris, Indian agent; Charles Parker, Indian Affairs inspector; and S. T. Wood of the RCMP.

The book ends with events of 1939, when the northern Indians seemed to be drifting into oblivion. Since then, with improved health care and education, enlightened federal and territorial governments, and through their unifying Indian Brotherhood organization, they have regained pride of ancestry and interest in their language and traditions. And whereas formerly they were preoccupied with hunting, fishing and trapping rights, now they are seeking more autonomy and the restoration of territorial rights which they feel were wrongfully taken from their forefathers by the old treaties.

Born in Dawson City, Richard Finnie is a veteran author, photographer, and film-maker, with a deep knowledge of the North and its people.

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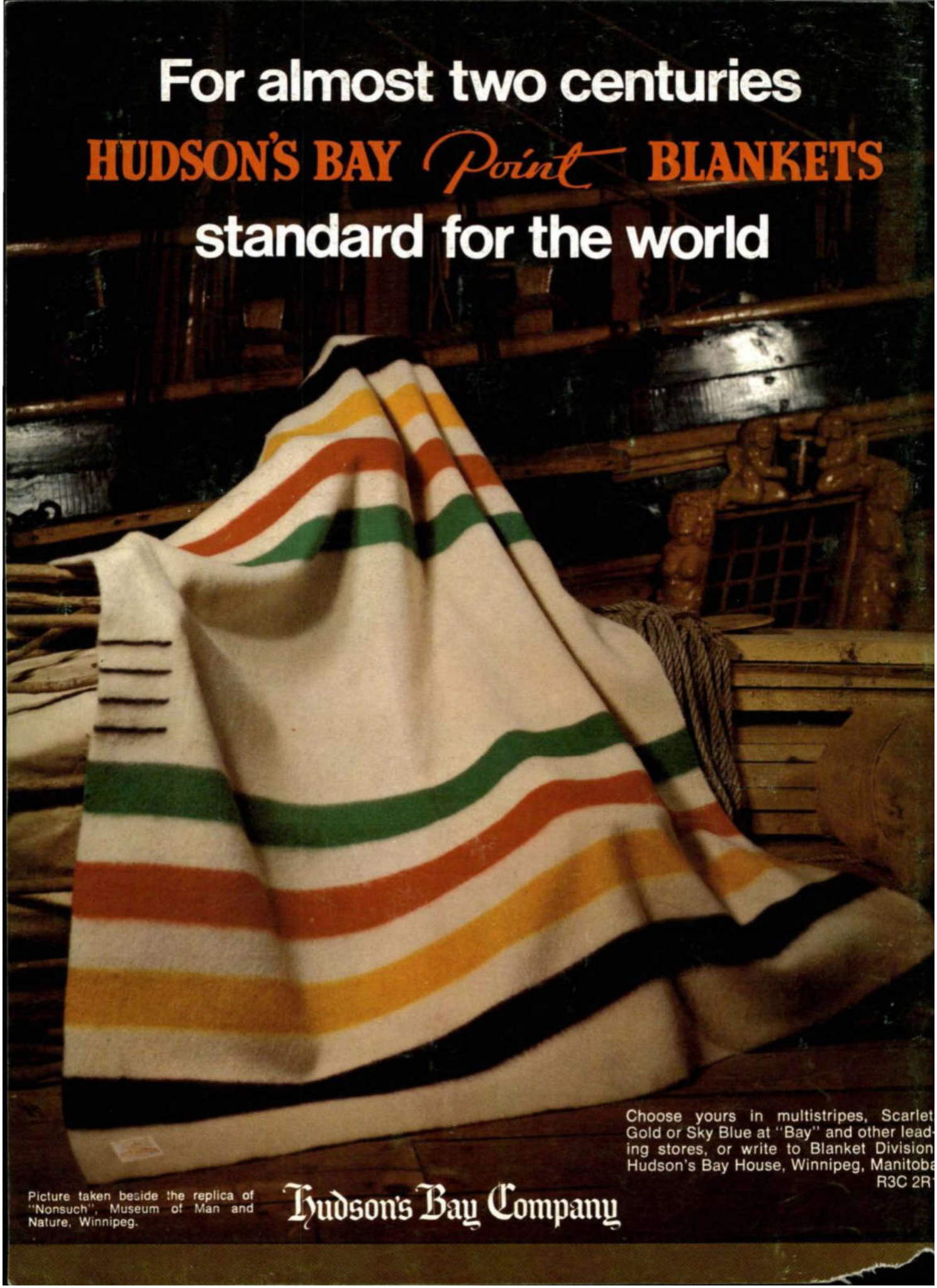
LETTER TO GOVERNOR GEYER, PORT NELSON, FROM THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE, LONDON, MAY 21, 1691

Hudson's Bay Company
INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670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Picture taken beside the replica of "Nonsuch", Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.
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